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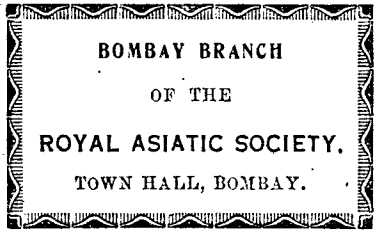

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HISTORICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

VOL. III.

PART THE THIRD.

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HISTORICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

PART THE FIRST,

FROM 1772 TO 1780.

PART THE SECOND,

FROM JANUARY, 1781, TO MARCH, 1782.

PART THE THIRD,

FROM MARCH, 1782, TO MARCH, 1784.

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ac

By Sir N. WILLIAM WRAXALL, Bart.

Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit Consilium Socordia atque Desidia bonum Otium conterere; neque vero Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus Officiis intentum, Ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto Studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui Res gestas carptim, ut quæque Memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ, Animus liber erat. SALLUST.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

PART THE THIRD.

1782.

[21st—27th March.] Lord North's Resignation, preceded at only a short Interval of Time, by that of Lord George Germain; and followed, as it was, by the Dismission of all the ministerial Adherents in every Department, with the single Exception of the Chancellor; were in themselves Events of the first national Magnitude and Importance. Their Impression was augmented by the sudden and unexpected Declaration of the first Lord of the Treasury in the House of Commons, that "his Majesty's Ministers "were no more," at a Moment when the most vigorous Resistance on their Part was

universally considered as certain. The younger Portion of Society scarcely remembered any other Minister than Lord North; and Lord Sandwich had presided nearly as long at the Head of the Admiralty. To the King, the former of those Noblemen was endeared by almost every personal Quality or Circumstance which could render him acceptable in the Closet, as well as useful in his public Capacity. More than twelve Years of almost daily Intercourse, amidst Scenes of perpetual Disquietude and Alarm, had cemented by the Effect of Habit, the other Motives for royal Predilection. It may indeed be reasonably doubted, whether even Lord Bute's Resignation affected the Sovereign so deeply or so painfully, as Lord North's Retreat. Mr. Grenville's Administration was regarded by many Persons, as a Continuation of the preceding Ministry, under another Name; whereas in 1782, the King could only anticipate a complete Surrender. The Individuals, the Measures, the Reductions contemplated, accompanied with the total Renunciation of Sovereignty over the revolted Colonies;—all were alike odious, or disagreeable to the King. No Man who attentively considers these Facts, will hesi-

tate in believing that Lord North might probably have continued in Power as long as Sir Robert Walpole had done, if the American War had not intervened and overturned him. Its Duration, Expence, Calamities, and Disgraces, became at length too overpowering to be surmounted by any human Ability. However indisputable I consider the Parliamentary *Right* of Legislation over the American Colonies to have been; yet the Attempt to *enforce* that Right by Arms; or, as Burke denominated it, "the "Experiment of shearing the Wolf," should unquestionably have been renounced after the Capitulation of Saratoga. From the Instant that France and Spain, listening to the Impulse of a narrow, vindictive Policy, and oblivious of all Considerations except those of Animosity towards Great Britain, undertook to sustain by Armies and Fleets, the Cause of Insurrection; we ought to have abandoned the further Prosecution of Hostilities beyond the Atlantic. Probably, Lord North himself was not far removed from that Opinion. We are at least in some Measure warranted so to assume, from the Tenor of his Expressions in the House of Commons, when speaking on the Subject, the last Time

that he rose as first Minister, previous to his Resignation. He yielded however to the Majority of the Cabinet, sustained by the Wishes of the Sovereign.

The Votes of the 22nd, and 27th of February, followed by that of the 4th of March, had, it is true, incapacitated the first Minister for continuing War against America. But, no Reason existed to prevent him from negotiating as successfully for the Attainment of Peace, as could be done by Lord Rockingham, or Lord Shelburne. He had declared his perfect Readiness to obey the Orders of Parliament, though he disapproved, as a Measure of Policy, the Resolutions proposed and carried by General Conway. Nay, he had directed the Attorney General to bring in a Bill, for enabling His Majesty to conclude a Peace or Truce with the revolted Colonies; which Proposition was actually made and adopted in a Committee of the whole House, on the 5th of March, only fifteen Days before his own Resignation. Public Opinion, however, seemed imperiously to demand a Change of Ministers, as well as of Measures. Men, long accustomed to ill Success, fondly ima-

gined that they must benefit by the Substitution of new Names. Neither the Health, nor the Abilities of the Marquis of Rockingham, seemed, indeed, equal to sustaining the Fatigues or the Duties of Government, at a Period of such national Depression. Towards the Earl of Shelburne, it is true that all Eyes were directed, as a Nobleman whose Talents and Information were peculiarly adapted to the critical Emergency of public Affairs. Nor can we doubt, that if a cordial Union and Co-Operation could have been effected between them and their respective Adherents; an Administration might have arisen, calculated to rescue the Sovereign and the Country from their State of Distress. Fox and Burke acknowledged the *Marquis* for their Leader; while Dunning and Barré looked up to the *Earl* for Protection. Of these four distinguished Persons, Fox only could in any Degree be regarded as a free Agent. Burke, having lost his Seat at the last general Election, as one of the Representatives for the City of Bristol, owed to Lord Rockingham his present Place in the House of Commons, being returned for *Malton*. *Calne* sent to Parliament, both Dunning and Barré. Fox hav-

ing not only succeeded in Westminster, but, being the only Member competent to perform the active Duties of the Situation while his Colleague Sir George Rodney was absent in the West Indies, might be considered as standing on a great Eminence. If, to this Circumstance we add his Birth, his Connexions, the Energies of his Character, and his splendid Talents of various Kinds, he might doubtless have aspired to occupy in his own Person, the Offices left vacant by Lord North. Mr. Pelham, and George Grenville, who, under the late and present Reign, had been placed at the Head of the Treasury and of the Exchequer, were only younger Brothers of noble Families. But, the State of Destitution to which Fox had reduced himself, and the Mode by which he had effected it, operated to depress him below the Level on which Nature had placed him. Pitt, though like Fox, he possessed little or no patrimonial Fortune, yet became first Minister; while Fox, with Abilities equally eminent, never aspired beyond a second Place in the Government. The public Voice, even under a Sovereign of more relaxed Morals than George the Third, would not, I am persuaded, have permitted him to be

placed at the Head of the Finances. That Place, it was evident, must be conferred on Lord Rockingham, or on Lord Shelburne. Those Persons who looked below the Surface, and who knew how little personal Communication existed between the two Noblemen in Question, how dissimilar were their Opinions on many great Points of Policy, and by what different Adherents they were surrounded or impelled; argued most unfavourably relative to the Concord and Duration of a Ministry, formed under their joint Auspices.

The King, who upon every Point was not less accurately informed than any of his Subjects, finding himself abandoned by Lord North, as he had repeatedly been deserted at earlier Periods of his Reign, by other Ministers, chose that Evil which he esteemed to be the least in his Situation. Well acquainted with the discordant Materials of which the Opposition was composed, he sent to Lord Shelburne, to signify a Desire of conferring with him, on the Formation of a new Administration; and when that Nobleman attended His Majesty for the Purpose, the King proposed to him to accept the

Place of First Lord of the Treasury. But, Lord Shelburne, however disposed he might be from Inclination, to comply with an Offer so flattering to his Ambition; felt too deeply conscious of his Inability to maintain himself in Power, independent of the Rockingham Party, to venture on its Acceptance. Having stated therefore, the Necessity under which he lay of declining so gratifying a Distinction, at least for the present; he urged the over-ruling Circumstances that left no immediate Alternative to the Crown, except placing the Marquis of Rockingham at the Head of the Ministry. Sensible that he must submit to the Measure, however painful, the King therefore, on the subsequent Day, desired Lord Rockingham's Attendance. At the Audience which took Place, His Majesty consented to the Conditions on which the Marquis insisted, before he would agree to accept Office; only attempting to stipulate as a Preliminary, that two of his actual Ministers, namely, the Chancellor and Lord Stormont, should be continued under the new Administration. He could not however obtain such Terms; nor was it without some Repugnance, and after considerable Difficulty,

that even Lord Thurlow was admitted to retain his Situation. A decided Negative was put on the other Nobleman, whom it was determined by the Rockingham Party, at all Events to exclude from any Cabinet Office. In the King's Situation, as he could neither contest nor protract, a few Days sufficed to terminate the Negotiation: but, throughout every Stage of it, a marked Preference was exhibited towards Lord Shelburne. When the House of Commons, pursuant to its Adjournment, met again on the 25th of March, an Adherent of that Nobleman, (not a Friend of the Marquis, his Competitor for Power,) was selected and authorized to communicate the State of Affairs at St. James's. Dunning, who, forty-eight Hours afterwards, kissed His Majesty's Hands on being created a Peer, informed the Members whom Curiosity or Anxiety had brought down in great Numbers to Westminster, that Arrangements for the Formation of a new Administration, which, he trusted, would meet the Wishes of the House and of the Nation, were in considerable Forwardness. In order to allow Time for their complete Accomplishment, he moved that another short Adjournment should take

Place, to Wednesday, the 27th. The Motion, after a few Words from Lord Surrey, expressive of a sort of gloomy Satisfaction at the Intelligence imparted by Dunning, was adopted.

The Leaders of Opposition, were nevertheless far from having surmounted all the Impediments to their Acquisition of Office; and they soon discovered that the Expulsion of Lord North, though it might open to them the Door of the Cabinet, by no Means secured the Durability of their Administration. From the first Moment that the new Competitors for Power, appeared at St. James's, inextinguishable Jealousies arose, and mutual Distrust manifested itself on every Occasion. With Difficulty could they be prevented from immediately proceeding to an open Rupture; and the external Appearances of political Union, which had been preserved during several Years of parliamentary Opposition, dissolved as soon as they came to divide the ministerial Objects of Plunder, or to dispute for Preference in the royal Favor. The Marquis of Rockingham, conscious that though he might ostensibly be placed at the Head of the new Ad-

ministration, yet the King regarded him and his Adherents with Sentiments of Alienation; while he considered Lord Shelburne with Regard, and treated him with Confidence; took Umbrage at the Distinction. In this Situation of Affairs, before the Formation of the new Cabinet, an Incident which displayed the superior Interest that Lord Shelburne possessed at Court, nearly terminated at once the Compact by which Lord North had been expelled, and consequently involved the whole Embryo Ministry in total Confusion.

[27th March—7th April.] Scarcely could the Administration be said indeed with Propriety, as yet to have any real Existence; for, though Mr. Fox and Lord Shelburne had been named Secretaries of State; and though Lord Camden had accepted the Presidency of the Council, while the Duke of Grafton was made Privy Seal; yet neither the new Boards of Treasury nor of Admiralty were constituted. Lord John Cavendish alone had been sworn in, as the new Chancellor of the Exchequer: but, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Admiral Keppel, who were destined to preside at the two

Boards, were not as yet regularly appointed. The Post of Commander in Chief of the Forces, as well as the Master General of the Ordnance, both which had commonly or frequently been Cabinet Offices, still remained vacant. No Individual had been proposed to be raised to the Peerage; when Lord Shelburne availing himself of the Facility which he enjoyed of Access to the Sovereign, induced His Majesty to confer the Dignity of a Baron, on his Friend and Adherent, Dunning. The Business itself, which neither the King, nor Lord Shelburne, communicated to the Marquis of Rockingham; was managed with such Dexterity, as well as Silence and Dispatch, that the first Intimation received of it, even by the Persons about the Court, arose from Dunning's kissing the King's Hand at the Levee, on his Creation. But, no sooner had the Intelligence become known, than it produced the most violent Fermentation and Resentment among all the Rockingham Party. Considering their Chief as equally overreached and insulted by the Proceeding, since it was evident that Lord Shelburne could effect for his Followers, Objects of the highest Importance, which proved to the Public his

superior and exclusive Ascendancy at St. James's; they determined on exacting immediate Reparation.

Under this Impression, several of the leading Persons, among whom were Fox, Burke, and George Byng, having repaired to Lord Rockingham's House in Grosvenor-square, a sort of tumultuary Consultation was there held on the Occasion. They unanimously agreed that the First Lord of the Treasury would be at once dishonoured in the Cabinet, and disgraced in the public Estimation; if the Secretary of State, so much his inferior in official Rank, could thus, without his Knowledge or Participation, dispose of the highest Dignities to his own Adherents. It was maintained, that the Reparation ought to be no less public, than the Affront; and that in order to wipe it away, some Individual must be without Delay raised to the Peerage, at Lord Rockingham's personal Recommendation. This Resolution being adopted, it was next debated whom to choose for the Honor. The Selection fell on Sir Fletcher Norton, late Speaker of the House of Commons: not, indeed, so much from Inclination, as from Necessity; no other Person

appearing equally proper to be created a Peer at the same Time with Dunning, as Sir Fletcher: they being, both, Lawyers of great Eminence in their Profession, Members of the House of Commons, speaking, as well as voting, in decided Opposition to the late Government, and rival Candidates for Power or Office.

On the following Day, Thursday, the 28th of March, the new First Lord of the Treasury repaired therefore to St. James's. Having obtained an Audience of the King, he represented the Impossibility of his continuing at the Head of the intended Administration, after the Elevation of Mr. Dunning to a Peerage, on Lord Shelburne's Recommendation, unless His Majesty should be graciously pleased to confer the same Mark of royal Favor on one of his own Friends. After some Hesitation, the King, apprehensive of the Consequences to himself and to the public Tranquillity, if Lord Rockingham and his Followers should suddenly resign, as they menaced; and aware that Lord Shelburne could not support himself alone; signified his Assent to the Proposition: adding, that the Person named, Sir Fletcher

Norton, might kiss his Hand at the first Levee. But, the Marquis peremptorily insisted on that Ceremony immediately taking Place on the same Day. In vain the King stated the Singularity and Impropriety of such an Act, contrary to all the Usages of established Court Etiquette, inasmuch as no Individual ever was known to be presented at the Queen's Drawing Room, by whatever Title, till he had previously been received under that Denomination, at the Levee. Lord Rockingham signified in Reply, respectfully, but tenaciously, that every Form must give Way on the present Occasion; and he exacted Compliance. Sir Fletcher being brought forward, actually kissed His Majesty's Hand on his Creation as a Baron, by the Title of Lord Grantley, the same Day, in the Drawing Room, to the no small Astonishment of the oldest Courtiers; and hardly less so of the newly created Peer himself, who having been apprized of this extraordinary Elevation, attended for the Purpose at St. James's, on the previous Notice of only a few Hours. No Instance of such a Breach of established Usage has occurred, either before or since, in the Course of the present Reign.

This Subject of Contest being thus regulated, and the Rockingham Party triumphant, the new Administration was at length formed, though of very heterogeneous Materials. Instead of *nine* Individuals, who constituted Lord North's Cabinet, *eleven* were now admitted; the third Secretaryship of State, namely, that for the Colonies, lately occupied by Lord Sackville, being extinguished. General Conway, as the Recompence of his late distinguished Services in Parliament, was placed at the Head of the Army. The Separation of the Office of First Lord of the Treasury, from that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, made way for Lord John Cavendish's Entrance into the Cabinet; and the Introduction of the Master General of the Ordnance, who had not been admitted under Lord North, brought in the Duke of Richmond: while, in order to oppose some little Balance to the preponderating Ascendancy of the Marquis's Friends, Lord Ashburton, late Mr. Dunning, contrary to general Usage or Precedent, was admitted to a Seat, in Quality of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Transition was doubtless great in every Instance; but, in that of Dunning, peculiarly striking; who, from a Barrister of

obscure Birth, though of transcendent Talents, beheld himself transformed in the Space of a few Hours, into a Peer, a Member of the Cabinet, and the Possessor for Life of a lucrative, as well as honorable legal Dignity.

The other great Objects of Ambition or Acquisition, were shared with tolerable Equality, among the Friends of the two principal Leaders. The Earl of Carlisle was replaced, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of Portland. Rigby, who during near fourteen Years had enjoyed the prodigious Emoluments of the Pay Office, without any Colleague, relinquished that enviable and lucrative Post to Burke; whose Brother, Richard, was likewise made one of the two Secretaries of the Treasury. Welbore Ellis, fallen in an Instant from his double Elevation of Secretary of State, and Treasurer of the Navy, made Way for Barré in the latter Employment; thus verifying Dundas's Prediction of the *Irish warming Pan:* while Jenkinson was succeeded, as Secretary at War, by Mr. Thomas Townsend. Kenyon became Attorney General. We were Colleagues for the Borough of Hindon, in that Parliament.

He possessed a deep and recondite Knowledge of the Law, the Result of severe Application; and was supposed to be consulted by the Chancellor, on all Cases that arose of legal Difficulty. It was indeed to Lord Thurlow's Friendship, and the high Opinion entertained by him of Kenyon's Ability, that the latter was indebted in an eminent Degree, for being brought forward in political Life. Though he loved Wealth, he was not naturally an ambitious Man. I know that he reluctantly consented to become a Member of the House of Commons, and that he was more than indifferent to his Continuance in that Assembly. His inflexible Love of Justice rendered him superior to Party Attachments, or to Party Sacrifices; and he was fabricated of such tough Materials, that you might break him, but, could never bend him. Gascoigne, under Henry the Fourth, or Sir Matthew Hale, under Cromwell, were not more intrepid and tenacious of Right.

I cannot forget his Expressions, when the Question was agitated in the House of Commons, whether the Public had, or had not, a Title to demand Interest on the Balances

of Money remaining in the Hands of public Accountants. It took Place;—I mean, the Debate on the Subject;—in the Month of June, 1782, when Fox might be esteemed first Minister, though Lord Rockingham was at the Head of the Treasury. And Fox's Opinions were well known to be in Favor of the Accountants. For, he always maintained that, "when a Balance of public "Money lay in the Hands of a public Func-"tionary, all which the Country or Parlia-"ment were entitled to expect from him, "was, that whenever the Money should "be demanded, it should be forthcoming." These were nearly Fox's Words, who never forgot that his Father had been Paymaster of the Forces; that he had made a vast Profit of those Balances; and that his Accounts remained unsettled for many Years subsequent to his Decease. But, Kenyon, then Attorney General, thought very differently on the Point. "I never will preclude "myself," said he, when addressing the House from the Treasury Bench, "from a "full Right to discuss in a Court of Justice, "the Question of whether the Public may "not call on their Servants to account for, "and to refund, the great Emoluments made

" by Means of public Money. I speak not " from ill Will to any Man alive; but, " solely from a Sense of Duty in an Office, " which I have, undeservedly, as well as " unexpectedly, been called to fill. I know " not how long I may continue in it; but, " if I should be dismissed from my present " Situation, I shall return to much domestic " Happiness, which I enjoyed before I was " called into public Life. So long however as " I may remain in it, I am determined to " do my Duty."

A Man composed of such Stuff, might look down on Ministers. When Mr. Eden only ventured to suppose, that in his Conduct relative to Rigby and Ellis, who, (as having been, the one, Paymaster of the Forces, and the other, Treasurer of the Navy,) were, both, largely indebted to the Public; he could be actuated by any personal Feelings or Motives, Kenyon instantly took Fire. " I hope," said he, with great Emotion, after justifying himself from the Imputation, " the Right Honorable Gentle- " man does not look into his own Heart, to " find out the Motives which actuate *Me* on " the present Occasion." Lord North en-

deavoured to explain Eden's Expression; but the Attorney General made no Answer. Little conversant with the Manners of polite Life, Kenyon retained, even when Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, to which high Dignity he afterwards rose, all the original coarse Homeliness of his early Habits. Irascible in his Temper, like his Countrymen, the Welsh; destitute of all Refinement in Dress or external Deportment, parsimonious even in a Degree approaching to Avarice; he nevertheless more than balanced these Defects of Deportment and Character, by strict Morality, Probity, and Integrity. As a Member of the House of Commons, whenever he spoke, though he wanted Grace and Dignity, he could not be reproached with any Deficiency in the essential Qualities of Perspicuity, Energy, and Command of Language. General Burgoyne, whose Exchange had at length been effected against Laurens, the late President of the American Congress; being thus liberated from the Inabilities which his Surrender at Saratoga had inflicted on him, was sent to replace Sir John Irwine, as Commander in Chief in Ireland.

The Duke of Bolton, as a Compensation

for the Service which he had rendered in the Session of 1781, by arraigning in the House of Peers, the Conduct of the first Lord of the Admiralty, was made Governor of the Isle of Wight. During his elder Brother's Life, when only Lord Harry Powlett, he had served in the Royal Navy, where, however, he acquired no Laurels; and he was commonly supposed to be the "Captain "Whiffle" pourtrayed by Smollet, in his "Roderic Random." Sheridan received the Appointment of one of the Under Secretaries of State in Fox's Office; who having taken for himself the *foreign* Department, left the *home* Secretaryship to Lord Shelburne; a Partition, by no means grateful to the latter Personage, whose extensive Information on all Subjects connected with Continental or foreign Affairs, qualified him eminently for that Line of political Employment. Mr. Orde became his Under Secretary. Of all the ostensible Candidates for public Situation, whose Birth and Talents seemed to call him forward to the Service of the State, and whose Eloquence in Parliament had eminently conduced to the Triumph obtained over the late Administration, Mr. Pitt, alone remained without Post or Remuneration. Not that the new Ministers

manifested either Insensibility to his Merits, or Indifference to securing such Abilities in their immediate Support. On the contrary, as the best Proof of their Consideration, they offered him the Place of a Lord of the Treasury, in the Formation of the new Board. But, in making him this Proposition, they appeared to have ill appreciated his Character, as well as to have forgotten his late Declaration in the House; and least of all to have understood the Extent, as well as the Depth, of his Ambition. Pitt steadily rejected every Proposition or Solicitation, preferring to remain for the present, without Office. Whether this Refusal originated in his Consciousness of possessing Talents, which, from their Pre-eminence, enabled him at once to seize a Cabinet Place, without passing, like other Men, through any inferior Gradations of political Life; or, whether it rather proceeded from that superior Intelligence and Discernment, which even at so early a Period of Youth, shewed him that a Ministry imbued with such discordant Principles, and odious to the Sovereign, could not possibly prove of long Duration; it may be difficult to determine with Certainty. Probably, both those Sentiments

concurred in regulating this judicious Line of Action.

Charles Turner, Member for the City of York, and one of the most eccentric Men who ever sate in Parliament, accepted a Baronetcy from the Marquis of Rockingham. He was a Man of large landed Property, situated in Yorkshire, on the Southern Bank of the Tees, near the Edge of the Bishoprick of Durham. Lord Rockingham could not boast of a more enthusiastic or devoted Adherent in either House: but, Turner's Attachment was not bestowed on his Rank or Power. The constitutional Principles which that Nobleman professed, and those only, constituted the Objects of Turner's Veneration. It was to commemorate, as he said, the Æra of a virtuous Minister and Administration attaining to Power, not from any Impulse of personal Vanity, or Desire of Title, that he accepted a Dignity which should date and derive from the auspicious Period of Lord Rockingham's Nomination to the Head of the Treasury. Sir Charles had many Peculiarities of Character, Dress, Language, and Deportment, in all which he was truly original. He never wore any Coat, except one

of a green Colour, with *Tally-ho* Buttons:—for, he was a decided Sportsman. Yet, the Love of Liberty, and Detestation of every Encroachment on the Comforts, Pleasures, or Enjoyments of his Fellow Subjects, particularly in the lower Classes of Society, was so ardent in his Bosom, that he declaimed against the *Game Laws*, as the most oppressive and disgraceful to our national Character. I remember, in the Month of February of this very Year, 1782, Mr. Coke, Member for Norfolk, having proposed in the House, a Revisal of those Laws, with a View to prevent Poaching; which Motion was seconded by the other Representative for the same County, Sir Edward Astley; Turner instantly rose, and in animated, tho' unpolished Language, inveighed against the whole *Code*, which he stigmatized without Reservation. "It is most shameful," exclaimed he, "to find this House perpetually occu-"pied in making Laws to protect Gentle-"men. I wish we made a few for the Bene-"fit of the Poor! Let the Legislature ex-"tend Protection to *Them*, and the Gentry "will have nothing to fear from their Depre-"dations. If I had been a poor Man, I am "convinced that I should have been a "Poacher, in Defiance of the Laws. It is

" to the Severity of those Laws, we owe the " Encrease of Poachers. I wish to see the " Game Laws revised, and stripped of more " than half their Severity. My Wish never- " theless, is by no means an interested one: " —for, every Shilling that I possess, is in " Land, and I am a Sportsman as well as " other Gentlemen." There existed not in the Kingdom, a more determined Enemy of the American War, or of Lord North. Turner did not want good Sense, nor was he destitute of Education: but, the Simplicity, Asperity, and untutored Roughness of his Ebullitions, always produced Laughter. " They call *Us* a Rope of *Sand*," said He, meaning the Opposition. " I will tell the " noble Lord in the blue Ribband, what he " and his Colleagues are. They are a Rope " of *Onions*;—for, they stink in the Nos- " trils of the whole Country." He did not long survive his Elevation to a Baronetcy, dying in the subsequent Year, 1783. Turner bore some Resemblance to Fielding's *Squire Western*; but, with far more Benevolence, Probity, Philanthropy, and general Humanity, than *Sophia*'s Father possessed.

[8th April.] Never was a more total Change

of Costume beheld, than the House of Commons presented to the Eye, when that Assembly met for the Dispatch of Business, after the Easter Recess. The Treasury Bench, as well as the Places behind it, had been for so many Years occupied by Lord North and his Friends, that it became difficult to recognize them again in their new Seats, dispersed over the Opposition Benches, wrapped in great Coats, or habited in Frocks, and Boots. Mr. Ellis himself, no longer Secretary of State, appeared for the first Time in his Life, in an Undress. To contemplate the Ministers, their Successors, emerged from their obscure Lodgings, or from Brookes's, having thrown off their blue and buff Uniforms; now ornamented with the Appendages of full Dress, or returning from Court, decorated with Swords, Lace, and Hair Powder; excited still more Astonishment. I confess that it appeared to me, the most extraordinary Revolution I ever witnessed; and the Members of the new Administration seemed, themselves, not to have recovered from their Surprize at being thus suddenly transported across the Floor of the House. Even some Degree of Ridicule attached to this extraordinary and sudden Metamorphosis, which afforded Subject for Conver-

sation, no less than Food for Mirth. It happened that just at the Time when the Change of Administration took Place, Lord Nugent's House, in Great George-street, having been broken open, was robbed of a Variety of Articles; among others, of a Number of Pairs of laced Ruffles. He caused the Particulars of the Effects stolen, to be advertized in some of the daily Newspapers, where they were minutely specified with great Precision. Coming down to the House of Commons, immediately after the Recess, a Gentleman who accidentally sate next to him, asked his Lordship, if he had yet made any Discovery of the Articles recently lost? "I can't say that I have," answered he, "but I shrewdly suspect that I have seen "some of my laced Ruffles, on the Hands of "the Gentlemen who now occupy the Trea- "sury Bench." This Reply, the Effect of which was infinitely encreased by the Presence of Fox and Burke in their Court Dresses, obtained general Circulation, and occasioned no little Laughter.

All Eyes were for some Minutes directed towards the Part of the House where the new Ministers, occupied in taking the Oaths on their Re-Election, engrossed uni-

versal Attention. But, no sooner had that Ceremony been compleated, than Colonel Luttrell, (now Earl of Carhampton,) rising, solicited the Notice of the Assembly to the Affairs of Ireland, which, from their critical Position, He said, admitted of no Delay. He called at the same Time on Mr. Eden, Secretary for that Kingdom, then in his Place, to explain their Nature, and the Embarrassment in which they were involved. Eden instantly obeyed the Summons; and in a Speech of considerable Length, well digested, and by no means destitute of Ability, laid open the alarming Fermentation, approaching to Emancipation from all Dependance on the King and Parliament of Great Britain, by which every Class of Inhabitants was animated in the Sister Island. With one Voice, he said, they declared their Determination no longer to submit to any Legislation, except that of the Sovereign and Parliament of *Ireland;* concluding by a Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill, to repeal so much of the Act of the 6th of George the First, as asserted a Right in the Government of this Country to make Laws for Ireland. "I do not wish," added he, "to precipitate "Matters; but, not an Instant is to be lost. "I must set off for Dublin, this Night, or

"To-morrow Morning. The Irish Parliament meets in eight Days from the present Time, and Mr. Grattan will immediately propose a Declaration of Rights. I shall be happy therefore to carry over the pleasing Intelligence, that the Legislature of this Country is ready to give every reasonable Satisfaction to the Irish Parliament and People."

Eden's Motion being eagerly seconded from various Sides of the House, the new Secretary of State rose, and addressed the Assembly, in Language of great Animation, accompanied with visible Emotion. Having reprobated the Line of Conduct adopted by Mr. Eden, as equally factious, injurious, and censurable, in thus unexpectedly introducing a Proposition of such Magnitude, whose Operation might tear asunder the political Ties that united the two Kingdoms; he threw himself and his Colleagues in the new Cabinet, on the Candour of the House, for Protection. He protested that, though scarcely inducted, yet they had already employed much of their Time in Consultation on the Affairs of Ireland. Before many Days, or perhaps Hours, would elapse, they hoped to bring

forward a Proposition calculated to restore Harmony and Concord between the two Countries. Against the late Administration Fox declaimed with great Asperity, as having by their criminal Negligence and Procrastination, produced the actual Calamity. On Eden himself, the Secretary was most severe, for quitting his Post, and repairing to London, obviously with no other Intention than that of involving the new Ministers in Difficulties, before they could possibly be prepared to produce an adequate Remedy. Fox terminated by moving the Order of the Day, though he exhorted Mr. Eden to withdraw his Motion; but, He, far from manifesting a Disposition to comply, repeated his Intimation of leaving England without Delay: adding, that if the Motion which he had just submitted to the House, was not adopted, it might be too late to avoid a Rupture between the two Countries.

Irritated at such Pertinacity on his Part, which evidently originated in mischievous Intentions towards the Administration, and might be productive of most injurious Effects to the Public; several Members, either connected with Ministry, or composing Part

of the Cabinet, successively interposed, and endeavoured to enforce Fox's Exhortation. Eden nevertheless treating these Applications with Silence or Disregard, General Conway, after reiterating the Request, and finding it received in a similar Manner, appealed to the House against him, as highly meriting a Vote of Censure for his Conduct. So strong, indeed, was that Impression, and such the Sentiment of Condemnation excited, that while Conway spoke, a loud and universal Cry of "Move! Move! Tower! Tower!" echoed from every Part of the Assembly. I joined in it, myself, almost involuntarily; as did Numbers of other Persons, who were not at all attached to the new Ministers; but, who felt nevertheless the censurable Spirit of the Motion, thus suddenly brought forward from Motives of personal Enmity or Hostility. Indeed, I am persuaded, that if Conway had availed himself of the Effervescence, not to say Indignation, which pervaded both Sides of the House, and had moved to send Mr. Eden to the Tower, it would have been adopted, unless that Gentleman had prevented it by a prompt Submission and Apology.

The Discussion still continuing, without any Approximation to the Object sought, Mansfield, the late Solicitor General, endeavoured to defend, if not to justify, Eden's Proceeding; though he himself at length seemed inclined to capitulate, on the Stipulation of receiving from Fox, a solemn Assurance that the obnoxious Act of George the First should be repealed. This Demand called up Sheridan, who, speaking for the first time in his Life from the Treasury Bench, inveighed with equal Energy and Acrimony, against the extraordinary Conduct of the Secretary for Ireland. That Functionary, Sheridan said, deserting his Duty, animated solely by private Pique and Resentment, had not only withheld from His Majesty's present Ministers, all the Information of which he must be in Possession; but, attempted to exasperate the State of Things, by a Proposition big with pernicious Consequences to the two Kingdoms. It was not however till Cornwall prepared to put the Question from the Chair, that Eden finding the House generally adverse to him; receiving no Support from Lord North, though that Nobleman was present; evidently entangled in his own Web; and

exposed to some Censure for the Line of Action which he had adopted on this Occasion, reluctantly consented to withdraw his Motion. Far from having succeeded in embarrassing the new Ministers, he had afforded them an Occasion of acquiring some Degree of Popularity, or at least, Parliamentary Approbation, at their Outset. Fox, in particular, by the manly Promptitude of his Reply, by his Declarations of the System which the Cabinet meant to follow, and the Protestations of their fixed Intention to execute all their Promises of Reform made before they entered on Office, produced a most favourable Impression on the public Mind.

With the external Insignia of Power and Employment, he seemed to have assumed in an Instant, the Tone, the Language, and the Sentiments of a Minister of State; though he could not, even if he had been so inclined, immediately abandon the Doctrines or the Engagements, to which he had solemnly pledged himself during successive Years of Opposition. On the following Day, he brought down a Message from the Crown, recommending the immediate Consideration of the Affairs of Ireland, with a View to such a final Adjust-

ment, as might give mutual Satisfaction to both Countries. It was adopted without a dissentient Voice, or the slighest Hesitation. In the Progress of his Speech on the Occasion, he again alluded with Severity, "to the Palliatives which the late Administration," he said, "had used in treating the Subjects of Contest existing between Great Britain and her Sister Island, merely in Order to obtain the unworthy Advantage of a temporary Suspension of the Evil. His Majesty's present Ministers came on the contrary, with Minds made up to meet the main Question, to settle the distinct Constitutions of the two Countries, and to establish such a Union or Connexion between them, as might endure for successive Ages." A loyal Address was voted to the Sovereign, re-echoing his gracious Message; and the Ministry appeared to commence their Career at Home under very favourable Auspices, at least within the Walls of the House of Commons.

Even the Drawing Room at St. James's, underwent considerable Alteration in its Appearance, as well as the Houses of Parliament, in consequence of the political Revolution which had driven the late Ministers

from Power. The Earl of Hertford, one of the "ancient, most domestic Ornaments" of the Court, who had held the White Wand of Chamberlain for more than fifteen Years, and whose Presence in the Circle seemed, from long Habit, almost essential to its very Existence; of course disappeared. The Duke of Manchester succeeded him. Lord Effingham, a Nobleman of great Eccentricity of Deportment, whose Name, since the Riots of June, 1780, had scarcely been pronounced on the Theatre of public Life, became Treasurer of the Household, in the Place of Lord Salisbury. No Individual, dismissed in consequence of the Change of Administration, was more personally regretted by the King, than Lord Bateman, who had held during many Years, the Post of Master of the Buck Hounds. I had the Honor to know him with great Intimacy. The Frankness and Gaiety of his Disposition, rendered his Society peculiarly agreeable to the Sovereign. Lord Bateman's Descent on the maternal Side, was very illustrious; his Mother having been Grand Daughter to John, Duke of Marlborough, and Sister to the second Duke of that Name. By his paternal Ancestors, he inherited only civic Honors; his Grandfather, Sir James Bate-

man, being knighted when Lord Mayor of London, under George the First. At near seventy Years of Age, Lord Bateman preserved all the Activity of Youth, accompanied by an Elasticity of Mind and Character which never forsook him. He might have been reinstated in the Employment of Master of the Buck Hounds, under succeeding Administrations: but, he preferred the Enjoyment of personal Liberty, and passed the last Years of his Life principally at his Seat of Shobden, in the County of Hereford. His Understanding was good, but he loved Pleasure of every Description, more than Business; and he possessed that Mediocrity of Talents, which never inspiring Awe, forms the best Recommendation to royal Favor. Curiosity was so strongly excited to see the new Ministers, and to remark the Demeanor of Persons, who during many Years had rarely stood in the Presence of the Sovereign, or frequented St. James's; that numerous Individuals attended the Levee and the Drawing Room, from no other Motive. Those who had always speculated on the short Duration of the present Administration, derived additional Proofs in Favor of their Opinion, from the very Looks and reciprocal

Deportment of the principal Personages. Every Attention shewn by the King to Lord Shelburne, excited the instant Jealousy of the Rockingham Party, and hastened their final Separation. Time alone, indeed, was necessary for making the political Arrangements, indispensable before the former Nobleman could venture to throw off his Subjection to his Colleagues, and to set up for himself, as First Minister.

[9th—25th April.] Previous to Lord North's Resignation, Mr. Fox had more than once insinuated in the House of Commons, that if he were Minister, he possessed the Means of making a separate Treaty with the Dutch, and of detaching them from France. His Friends did not even scruple to assert, that "he had a Peace with Holland in his Pocket:" Expressions, which being uttered in a Period of Misfortune and Despondency, could not fail of producing a forcible Impression on the sanguine, as well as on the credulous, Part of Society. One of his first Attempts, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, became in fact directed to the Attainment of so salutary and important an Object. In order to effect it, he

thought proper to address a Letter to Mons. Simolin, the Russian Minister, then residing at the Court of London; making through him, the Offer of an immediate Suspension of Hostilities between Great Britain and Holland, as a Step preparatory to Negotiation. This Proposal was afterwards warmly reiterated and seconded, by the Ambassadors of Catherine the Second at the Hague. But, instead of the Nation deriving any Benefit from Fox's hasty Overture, it was received by the States General with Coldness, and treated with Contempt; they wisely preferring to negotiate in Concert with France and Spain, whenever a Plan should be set on Foot for general Pacification. Baffled in this Experiment, the Cabinet next made Propositions at the Court of Versailles, with a View to general Accommodation; and even sent Mr. Thomas Grenville, Earl Temple's Brother, to Paris, for the Purpose: while Admiral Digby and Sir Guy Carleton were dispatched to America, with Instructions to offer an immediate Acknowledgement of the Independence of the Thirteen Colonies. The Congress, however, as if animated by the same Spirit with the Dutch, refused to receive any Mes-

senger, or even to grant a Passport to the Person deputed by the British Commissioners, for commencing a Negotiation.

So conscious was the Secretary of State, that some Degree of Ridicule attached to the Failure of his Attempt to open a Treaty with Holland, as to induce him to anticipate public Opinion, by mentioning it in the House of Commons. He judiciously prepared his Audience for the Disclosure, by first loading Lord North's Administration with the severest Epithets, as solely culpable, from their Negligence or Incapacity. "Wretched and fallen as the Country had "been depictured," he said, "by himself "and his Friends, before they came into "Power, yet its real Condition infinitely "exceeded even their own Apprehensions. "His former Suspicions were poor and "feeble in Comparison with the Fact. Our "*Navy* was so reduced and impotent, that "he thought an Enquiry ought to be set on "Foot, in Order that the Country might see "the Extent of the Calamity." Unfortunately for the Secretary, Sir George Rodney, commanding the Fleet sent out and equipped by Lord Sandwich, had already gained the

glorious Victory of the 12th of April, though the Intelligence did not reach London before the Middle of the Month of May. Fox alluding next to his recent Experiment for making Peace with the Dutch, said, that "owing to the incapable Measures and Mis-"management of the late Ministers, the "greatest Impediments were thrown in the "Way of a Treaty with Holland. If the "present confidential Servants of His Ma-"jesty, had only been called to his Councils "*some Weeks earlier*, it would have been "effected." He concluded by repeating his Accusations of Lord North, accompanied with the Observation, that though no Man was less vindictive than himself, yet Self Preservation would render it necessary to lay before Parliament, the deplorable State of the Nation. He probably imagined, that in the prostrate Position of the late Minister's Friends and Supporters, these Imputations would pass without Contradiction or even Observation. But, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, impelled by the manly Nature of his Disposition, and not at all overborne by the Secretary's bold Assertions, instantly rose to answer him. After exhorting the Minister rather to promote Concord and Unanimity within those Walls, than to awaken

Dissension and Ill-Humor, "If," continued he, "our Navy is really in the bad "Condition described by the Right Honor-"able Gentleman, or has been so grossly "mismanaged as he pretends, the best Way "of proving his Assertion, will be to pro-"duce a better Navy. And if it was such "a very easy Operation as he asserted, to "make Peace both with Holland and Ame-"rica; why does he not accomplish it, now "that he and his Colleagues have the Con-"duct of the Business exclusively in their "own Hands? Or, if they are compelled "to admit that Impediments stand in the "Way, Candor might induce them to sup-"pose that their Predecessors found similar "Obstacles, which prevented their Attain-"ment of the Object." Fox made no Reply to this Animadversion of Dundas. However triumphantly he conducted Matters in Parliament, where he experienced scarcely any Obstacle to his Pleasure, it seemed impossible for him to begin his foreign diplomatic Labors more unsuccessfully, after having held out to the Country, either personally, or through the Medium of his Adherents, such delusive Expectations.

He found it much easier to induce the

House of Commons to listen to his Propositions, than to persuade or to conciliate any of the belligerent Powers. No Opposition whatsoever was experienced from Lord North, who, though at the Head of a routed Party, yet remained the nominal Chief of a numerous Body of Men. He attended very regularly in his Place, and might, if he had been so disposed, have greatly impeded, if not wholly prevented, many of the Measures of the new Government. But, far from throwing any Obstacles in their Way, he allowed them without Molestation to complete their Projects of Reform, in every Direction. The King having sent a Message to the House on the Subject, Burke opened the System of domestic Retrenchment, by bringing in anew his famous Bill for the Reduction of the civil List, so often proposed, and so often rejected, or eluded, in preceding Sessions. Powis seconded the Motion. The Expressions adopted by both, when speaking of the Part which the King performed in it, were not calculated to render the Measure itself more palatable to him. *Secret Influence* was designated clearly, as the latent Evil which had so long separated the Sovereign from his People. Burke

congratulated the House and the Country, that "the auspicious Moment had at length "arrived, when His Majesty, *liberated from* "*the secret and pernicious Counsel which* "*interposed between him and his Subjects,* "now addressed them in the pure and rich "Benevolence of his own Heart." Words, which in Reality implied more Censure than Commendation, since he had already reigned above twenty Years, without feeling or exerting this benevolent Impulse. Powis spoke out in still stronger Language. After describing the Act itself of contracting his royal State, in Order to diminish the Burthens of his People, as entitled to the warmest Effusions of Gratitude; he added, that "the "Message now sent from the Crown, proved "the Sovereign to be at length delivered "from *that baneful and concealed Adviser* "*which had lurked unseen,* and had inter- "cepted his gracious Inclinations." Fox made no Allusion to *Secret Influence;* but, he expressed his Hopes that Gentlemen would be *unanimous* in fulfilling His Majesty's generous Intentions, as it could be no longer objected that the House of Commons ought not to interfere with the Civil List; "the King coming forward to his People

" with unparalleled Grace, and desiring to " participate in their Sufferings." In Fact, not one Word was uttered from any Part of the House, though a Smile might have been observed on certain Faces; and an Address to the Throne was unanimously voted.

When, however, the Bill itself came to be discussed in the Committee, some Weeks afterwards, and the Plan of proposed Reduction minutely detailed by Burke; instead of two Hundred thousand Pounds a Year, which Sum, by a Species of political Arithmetic, formed on Data of his own Assumption, he had calculated in 1779, would annihilate ministerial Influence in the House of Commons, commensurate to fifty Members or Votes in Parliament; he now proposed only about a third Part of that annual Sum for the Scope of his Retrenchment. Many Regulations which had appeared to be indispensable, while he was in Opposition, were abandoned when he spoke from the Treasury Bench; more undoubtedly, from Compulsion, than from Inclination. Some Abuses owed their prospective Toleration to the personal Respect that, he said, he felt for the Individuals who presided over

the Office or Department. Others were perpetuated from Deference to Prejudice, or popular Predilection. All the Regulations relative to the Principality of Wales, which had formed a prominent Feature of his former Bill, were now, he said, given up, or at least, postponed. Not because he by any means believed that they would, if adopted, fail to be productive of great national Utility; but, because they were disagreeable to the Welsh. He added, however, that he hoped a Time would arrive, more propitious to their Introduction. The Ordnance might be safely trusted to the Duke of Richmond's vigilant Frugality. Vyner, Member for Lincoln, observed on this Clause, that "as the "Duke of Richmond was not immortal, "he would vote for the Enactment of such "Regulations in his Department, as might "render it impossible for any Successor at "the Head of the Ordnance, to abuse his "Power, and to plunder the Public." Barré afterwards reiterated in his Place, the same Opinions. Lord Ashburton, or rather, Lord Shelburne, extended his Protection to the Duchy of Lancaster. The Mint was left untouched; and even two of the white Wands, the Treasurer and Cofferer of the

Household, as contributing to the Splendor of the Court, obtained Grace. Yet, thus mutilated, and hardly recognizable, both Burke and Powis, when returning Thanks to the King, for his Message relative to this Subject; melted into Tears, at the Prospect of their approaching Triumph over Court Profusion and ministerial Corruption.

Two Bills, one for the Prevention of Contractors sitting in Parliament; the other, for excluding Officers of the Excise and Customs from voting at Elections; were likewise passed with little Difficulty or Delay, through the lower House, where the Administration carried all before them. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke brought in the former; Mr. Crewe, now Lord Crewe, the latter. Except from Lord Nugent and Mr. Vyner, as well as, I believe, from Bamber Gascoyne, scarcely any material Opposition was experienced. Lord Nugent, besides speaking against both the Bills in every Stage of their Progress, divided the House on them: but, he could only carry about fourteen Votes with him, while Ministers had more than eighty. Gascoyne said that the Bill for depriving Revenue Officers of their Right of

voting, violated Magna Charta, which secured to every Subject, his Rights and Franchises. Vyner represented, that sixty Thousand Individuals would be disfranchised by its Operation. The Secretary at War having remarked that nothing could be more desirable for the Persons themselves, than to be thus incapacitated from voting; Mr. Anne Poulett observed, not without some Wit, that the Assertion reminded him of the Anecdote of Don Carlos and the Executioner. When the unfortunate Son of Philip the Second expressed his Unwillingness to submit to the Stroke of the Axe, the Officer of Justice besought his Highness to remain quiet, and suffer his Head to be taken off, as it was designed for his own Benefit. The Honorable Mr. Poulett, Son of the first Earl Poulett, (who occupied the high Office of first Lord of the Treasury, for a short Period of Time, under Queen Anne,) was above seventy Years of Age, in 1782, when I knew him, and had been named after that Princess, who was his God-Mother. Like Welbore Ellis, he always came to the House, in a full Dress Suit, and regularly took his Place on the Government Side, opposite to Rigby. He

was a steady Supporter of the Crown, but, very rarely rose to speak, being naturally of a grave and taciturn Disposition. His known Loyalty, and unshaken Attachment to the Administration which he believed to be approved by the King, subjected him to the Lash of the "Rolliad." After enumerating several other Members distinguished by similar Principles of Action, the Author adds,

> "And *Nancy* Poulett, as the Morning fair,
> Bright as the Sun, but, common as the Air.
> Inconstant Nymph! who still, with open Arms,
> To every Minister devotes her Charms."

Mr. Crewe was accompanied by near a Hundred Members, when he carried up his Bill to the Bar of the Lords: but, in their Passage through that House, both Bills, Sir Philip Clerke's, no less than the other, experienced from the Chancellor, as well as from Lords Mansfield and Loughborough, the most decided Opposition. These Pillars of the Law, far from yielding to the Temper of the Times, endeavoured, though ineffectually, to stem its Force. Thurlow, in particular, even while holding in his Hand the Great Seal of England, and while in his

own Person a Member of the Cabinet; yet expressed with that gloomy Indignation which characterized his Style of speaking, the Disapprobation that he felt at such Inroads on the Majesty of the Crown, as well as on the Franchises of the Subject. Unawed by the Appearance of Fox and Burke, who, in order to impress him with Respect, as well as to display the Interest that they took in the Success of these Measures, usually appeared in the House of Peers, on the Steps of the Throne, while the Bills were agitating; Lord Thurlow animadverted on them with the utmost Severity, and divided in the Minority, on all the most obnoxious Clauses. But the Stream, which ran with too much Violence, successfully to oppose its Current, soon secured for each of the Bills, the Concurrence of the Sovereign.

It cannot be disputed by the greatest Enemies of Reform, that various of the Offices, or nominal Employments, suppressed by Burke's Bill, were become obsolete, destitute of any real Function, and void of apparent Utility. Nor will it be denied, that the annual aggregate Sum which the Measure saved to the Country, though now reduced

from two hundred thousand Pounds, to about seventy-two thousand Pounds a Year, yet still formed a considerable Object of national Economy. But, on the other Hand, the Extinction of so many Places, deprived the Crown of that Species of Majesty, produced by the Operation of Time, and "the Hoar of Ages;" Advantages, which no Man knew better how to appreciate and to venerate, as well as to celebrate and sustain, than Burke himself. We beheld him, scarcely ten Years afterwards, stand forward the determined Champion of monarchical Institutions, and the zealous Opposer of almost every Kind of Innovation. We may likewise remark, that the Board of Trade, and the Office of Third Secretary of State, both which Institutions his Bill abolished, have been since revived, from a Conviction of their respective Necessity or Advantages. Even the "Great Wardrobe," the "Treasurer of the Chamber," the "Jewel Office," the "Clerks of the Board of Green Cloth," and some other Appointments, which may appear at first Sight to be most exceptionable or unnecessary; yet, as carrying us back in Imagination to the Reigns of the *Tudors*, by whom they were instituted, diffused over

the Throne itself, a Gothic Grandeur, calculated to protect and to perpetuate the Sanctity of the monarchical Office. These adventitious Aids will not be despised by those who deeply consider the Nature of Man, and of all human Institutions.

Other Consequences of an injurious Description, not foreseen at the Time, or from which the Author of the Bill chose to avert his View, have flowed from the Measure. In Burke's Eagerness to diminish the supposed overgrown Influence of the Crown, arising from the Distribution of Offices among the Members of the House of Commons, a greater Injury has been probably sustained by the British Constitution. The Minister, deprived of the Means of procuring Parliamentary Attendance and Support, by conferring Places on his Adherents, has in many Instances been compelled to substitute a far higher Remuneration; namely, Peerages. A Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration, will form the strongest Illustration of this Remark. I know indeed, from the best Authority, that Burke himself lived to adopt the Opinion, and like other Reformers or Innovators, found Reason to lament the Effects

of his own Bill. Being at Bath, in a declining State of Health, not long before his Decease; I believe, in 1797; the Conversation turned on the great Augmentation made by Mr. Pitt to the Numbers of the House of Lords, during the preceding thirteen Years. "I fear," said Burke, "that I am partly "accountable for so disproportionate an In- "crease of Honors, by having deprived the "Crown and the Minister of so many other "Sources of Recompense or Reward, which "were extinguished by my Bill of Reform." Mr. Pitt, when he came into Power, early in 1784, had in Fact little left him to bestow, in Proportion to the Croud of Claimants, except Dignities; and he was not parsimonious in their Distribution. The two Bills, excluding Contractors from sitting in the House of Commons, and depriving Revenue Officers, of the Right of voting at Elections for Members of Parliament; though liable, respectively, to some Objections; and though both were strongly reprobated at the Time, by the greatest legal Characters in the House of Peers; yet appear to have obtained, and still to retain, the general Approbation of the Country.

Many Persons of high Rank reluctantly disappeared from about the King's Person and Court, in Consequence of Burke's Bill of Reform. The Earl of Darlington quitted the Jewel Office; and Lord Pelham, the Great Wardrobe: the first of which Offices owed its Institution to Elizabeth; while the latter remounted to the Times of the *Plantagenets*. The Earl of Essex laid down the Stag Hounds; as did Lord Denbigh, the Harriers: while the Disasters of Saratoga and of York Town were thus felt by rebound, through every Avenue of St. James's. Gibbon, who had sat at the Board of Trade since 1779, being dismissed from his official Attendance in Whitehall; found himself more at Leisure to continue that great historical Work which he ultimately compleated on the Banks of the Lake of Geneva, and which will perpetuate his name to distant Ages. George Selwyn lost a lucrative Appointment under the Board of Works; and though possessed of an affluent Fortune, together with a Borough, yet as he loved Money, no Man who suffered in Consequence of the Reduction of the Civil List, retained a deeper Resentment towards the

Party who had abridged his Enjoyments, and diminished his Income. I knew him with some Degree of Intimacy, having sat as his Colleague in Parliament, during more than six Years, for Ludgershall, from 1784 to 1790. He resided in Cleveland Row, in the House rendered memorable by the Quarrel which took Place between Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townsend, under the Reign of George the First; when the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State seized each other by the Throat;—a Scene which *Gay* is supposed to have pourtrayed in "The Beggar's Opera," under the Characters of Peachum and Lockitt. Selwyn was a Member of the House of Commons, during the greater Part of his Life; and down to the Year 1780, he constantly represented Glocester, near which City he had a Seat, at Matson. The Unpopularity consequent on the American War, throughout the whole Progress of which Contest he supported Government, occasioned his being rejected by his old Constituents, at the General Election which took Place in that Year. He told me, that during the memorable Siege of Glocester, undertaken by Charles the First in 1643, Charles, Prince of Wales, and James, Duke

of York, who both in turn ascended the Throne, but, who were then Boys, remained at Matson. And he added, that James the Second, after he came to the Crown, used frequently to mention the Circumstance to his Grandfather when he went to Court; observing, "My Brother and I were gene-" rally shut up in a Chamber on the second " Floor at Matson, during the Day; where " you will find that we have left the Marks " of our Confinement, inscribed with our " Knives, on the Ledges of all the Win-" dows."

Selwyn possessed infinite Wit. He had indeed succeeded to Philip, Earl of Chesterfield's Reputation for *Bon Mots*, most of which that then attained to any Celebrity, were either made by, or attributed to, him. Their Effect, when falling from his Lips, became greatly augmented by the listless and drowsy Manner in which he uttered them; —for, he always seemed half asleep: yet the Promptitude of his Replies was surprizing. The late Duke of Queensberry, who lived in the most intimate Friendship with him, told me that Selwyn was present at a public Dinner with the Mayor and Corporation of

Glocester, in the Year 1757, when the intelligence arrived of our Expedition having failed before Rochfort. The Mayor turning to Selwyn, "You, Sir," said he, "who are "in the ministerial Secrets, can no doubt "inform us of the Cause of this Misfor-"tune?" Selwyn, though utterly ignorant on the Subject, yet unable to resist the Occasion of amusing himself at the Enquirer's Expense, "I will tell you in Confidence the "Reason, Mr. Mayor," answered he; "the "Fact is, that the scaling Ladders prepared "for the Occasion, were found on Trial to "be too short." This Solution, which suggested itself to him at the Moment, was considered by the Mayor to be perfectly explanatory of the Failure, and as such, he communicated it to all his Friends; not being aware, though Selwyn perfectly well knew, that Rochfort lies on the river Charente, some Leagues from the Sea-shore, and that our Troops had never even effected a Landing on the French Coast.

But it was not merely as a Man of Wit, that I delighted in his Society. He was likewise thoroughly versed in our History, and Master of many curious Anecdotes, re-

lative to the Houses of Stuart and of Brunswic. As he had an Aversion to all long Debates in Parliament, during which he frequently fell asleep; we used to withdraw sometimes to one of the Committee Rooms up Stairs, for the Purpose of Conversation. Talking to him of the Death and Execution of Charles the First, he assured me that the Duchess of Portsmouth always asserted, as having been communicated to her by Charles the Second, that his Father was not beheaded either by Colonel Pride, or Colonel Joyce; though one of the two is commonly considered to have performed that Act. The Duchess maintained that the Man's Name was Gregory Brandon. He wore a black Crape stretched over his Face, and had no sooner taken off the King's Head, than he was put into a Boat at Whitehall Stairs, together with the Block, the black Cloth that covered it, the Axe, and every Article stained with the Blood. Being conveyed to the Tower, all the Implements used in the Decapitation, were immediately reduced to Ashes. A Purse containing a hundred broad pieces of Gold was delivered to him, after which Recompence he received his Dismission. Brandon survived the Transac-

tion many Years, but divulged it a short Time before he expired. This Account, as coming from the Duchess of Portsmouth, challenges great Respect.

From his own Father, who had acted a conspicuous Part during Sir Robert Walpole's Administration, Selwyn knew many of the secret Springs of Affairs, under George the First and Second. He told me that the former of those Kings, when he came over here from Hanover in 1714, understanding very imperfectly the English Language; found himself so weary while assisting at the Service in the Chapel Royal, that he frequently entered into Conversation in French or German, with the Persons behind him. Charles the Second, who could not plead the same Excuse for his Inattention; was accustomed, as we know from *Burnet*, to fall fast asleep; and Harry Bennet, afterwards created Earl of Arlington, usually awoke His Majesty towards the Conclusion of the Sermon. Among the few Individuals who had retained under the new Reign, the Places that they held or occupied about Queen Anne, was Dr. Younger,

Dean of Salisbury. Anticipating the Change of Sovereigns, he had applied with such Success to render himself Master of the German Language, that he was continued in the Office of Clerk of the Closet, which gave him great Access to the King, behind whose Chair he usually stood at Chapel. With Younger, His Majesty often talked during the Service; a Circumstance, which as being indecorous, naturally excited much Offence. Lord Townsend, then one of the Secretaries of State, animated by a Sense of loyal Affection, ventured to acquaint him that his Deportment at Chapel, gave Cause of Regret, mingled with Animadversion, to many of his most attached Subjects; beseeching him at the same Time, particularly to abstain from conversing with Dr. Younger. Far from resenting the Freedom taken with him, His Majesty promised Amendment; and Lord Townsend strongly enjoined the Clerk of the Closet to observe in future the most decorous Behaviour on his Part. Finding however that they resumed or continued the same Practice, Lord Townsend sent Younger a positive Order, as Secretary of State, directing him, with-

out presuming to present himself again in the royal Presence, to repair immediately to his Deanery. Dr. Younger, conceiving the Injunction to proceed from the King, obeyed without Remonstrance or Delay; and the Secretary waiting on His Majesty, informed him that the Dean had received a Kick from a Horse which fractured his Skull, of which Accident he was dead. George the First expressed the deepest Concern at his Loss, and never entertained the most remote Idea of the Deception which had been practised on him. Several Years afterwards, before which Time Lord Townsend had quitted his Employment, the King going down to review some Regiments that were encamped on Salisbury Plain, the Bishop and Chapter of that City had the Honor to be presented to him, and to kiss his Hand. But, when Younger approached for the Purpose, His Majesty, overcome with Amazement at beholding again a Man whom he had long considered as no more, could scarcely restrain his Emotions. As soon however as Circumstances permitted, he sent for the Dean into his Presence, and a mutual Explanation took Place. Conscious of the Rectitude and Propriety of the Mo-

tives which had actuated Lord Townsend in his Conduct, he never expressed any Sentiment of Anger, or of Resentment; but contented himself with promising Younger to confer on him a Mitre, as soon as an Occasion should present itself: an Assurance which he would have probably realized, if the Dean had not shortly afterwards been carried off by Death.

Selwyn's nervous Irritability, and anxious Curiosity to observe the Effect of Dissolution on Men, exposed him to much Ridicule, not unaccompanied with Censure. He was accused of attending all Executions; and sometimes, in order to elude Notice, disguised in a female Dress. I have been assured that in 1756, he went over to Paris, expressly for the Purpose of witnessing the last Moments of Damien, who expired under the most acute Torture, for having attempted the Life of Louis the Fifteenth. Being among the Croud, and attempting to approach too near the Scaffold, he was at first repulsed by one of the Executioners; but, having informed the Person, that he had made the Journey from London, solely with a View to be present at the Punishment

and Death of Damien, the Man immediately caused the People to make Way, exclaiming at the same Time, "*Faites place pour Monsieur. C'est un Anglois, et un Amateur.*" The Baron Grimm, in his "Correspondence," asserts that the Fact took Place, not with Respect to Selwyn, but, to the celebrated Condamine. Mr. Pitt, in order to recompense Selwyn for the Place of "Paymaster of the Works," of which he was deprived by Burke's Bill, made him in 1784, "Surveyor General of the Crown Lands," which Office he retained till his Decease, in 1790.

[26th—30th April.] Hitherto, however, Fox occasionally indulged himself in Animadversions of Severity on the late Administration, yet no direct Attack upon any of the Members of that Cabinet, had been made by the new Ministers, or by their Friends. But, Sawbridge, acting independently of Men in Office, brought forward to the Notice of the House at this Time, as a Matter of Revision or of Censure, a Pension of a thousand Pounds a Year, granted during the last Days of Lord North's Continuance in Power, to Mr. Robinson, one of the

Secretaries of the Treasury. Sawbridge commented on the Grant, with all the republican Bitterness of his Character. Lord North defended, and Robinson explained, the Circumstances attending the Transaction: while the Secretary of State availed himself of the Subject and the Occasion, to inveigh against the late first Lord of the Treasury; inconscious how soon he should be compelled or induced, from ambitious Motives, to form the closest Connexions of Policy, and even of Friendship, with that Nobleman. After declaiming with no ordinary Asperity, against his Abuse of the Office that he recently held, in order to provide for his Adherents and Dependants, after he had declared in his Place within those Walls, that His Majesty's Ministers were no more; Fox exclaimed, "The noble "Lord talks of the Services of his Secre- "tary. Would to God that the Honorable "Gentleman had been idle! Nor is the "Observation confined to him. It extends "to Men of a higher Rank. I wish to "Heaven, they had employed themselves in "Services less injurious to their Country! "I beg of the House to understand that the "Pension in question, as well as another of

" five Hundred Pounds a Year, given to Sir " Grey Cooper, *and a third Pension which* " *has not been mentioned,* were the Work of " the late Ministers; not of the noble and " honorable Persons now called to His Ma- " jesty's Councils." Lord North having observed that the *third Pension* alluded to by Fox, which was one of three Thousand Pounds a Year, recently granted to himself, had invariably been bestowed by the Crown, on all his Predecessors in the same Employment; added, that he had refused it, when offered him, some Years earlier. But, the Secretary replied, "'Men who have ruined " their Country, are not entitled to the Re- " wards of meritorious Service! Nor will " the Public brook that the noble Lord shall " receive a Remuneration, equal to the great " and popular Earl of Chatham."

Sawbridge, whose Pertinacity of Character inclined him to prosecute with unremitting Ardor, whatever Matter he undertook; resumed the Business three Days afterwards; concluding with a Motion, that "the " Pension of one Thousand Pounds a Year " granted to John Robinson, Esq., *was un-* " *merited by public Service, and a lavish,*

"*improvident Expenditure of the public* "*Money.*" In the Course of his Speech on the Occasion, Sawbridge stated, that "the "noble Lord at the Head of the Treasury, "from his habitual Indolence, entrusted to "the Secretary the whole Management of "that Department. To him, the Negotia- "tion of Loans was committed, of which "lucrative Transactions he reserved to him- "self a Share, as well as of other Contracts. "To him likewise was confided *the Ma-* "*nagement of that House*, in which delicate "Line of Service, he had displayed eminent "Dexterity. For these meritorious Per- "formances, he had obtained from the "Crown, besides the Pension in question, "Grants of Lands and Houses, together "with the Reversion of an Office of consi- "derable Magnitude;" every Particular of which the Mover detailed to the Assembly. Lord North was not present; but, Robinson, without Discomposure, answered all the Allegations; denied some of the Facts, and admitted others; leaving the House to act on the Occasion, as they might judge proper. Fox remained silent: but, Mr. Thomas Pitt rising as soon as Robinson concluded, besought the Assembly not to for-

get its own Dignity, and the great national Objects demanding their Attention, by occupying themselves in such pitiful Discussions. He therefore moved the *Order of the Day*, The Secretary of State instantly availed himself of this Proposition, which, he said, met his Approbation; though he paid many Compliments to Sawbridge, and accompanied them with the heaviest Imputations on the late Ministers. Mr. William Pitt supporting his Relation, recommended Unanimity, as presenting the only Hope of national Extrication; and the *Order of the Day* was carried without any Division, though not before Lord Surrey had moved for an Account of all Pensions granted from the 15th of February, down to that Time, the 30th of April. No Opposition being made to it, the Business terminated.

[1st—6th May.] Wilkes, who during more than thirteen successive Years, in various Parliaments, had vainly endeavoured to expunge from the Journals of the House of Commons, the memorable Resolutions relative to the Middlesex Election; after being so often foiled, at length attained his Object. The Division which took place

upon this Question, when 115 Members voted with him, and only 47 against him, was attended with the singular Circumstance of Lord North and Fox dividing together in the Minority. The new Secretary of State, whose original political Line of Conduct, while supporting the Administration which he had recently expelled, and of which he once formed a Part, made it sometimes difficult for him to maintain the Appearance of Consistency; affected to speak and to vote from the Treasury Bench, against Wilkes's Motion. He was, indeed, well aware of the Charge that would be made against him, and alluded to it in his Speech, which formed a Tissue of Contradictions. After observing that it was for the Benefit of the English People, to give the Power of Expulsion to the House of Commons; he nevertheless added, that when the public Voice had been loudly pronounced against it, as he admitted was the Case, he would not wish to preserve the Privilege, in order to make use of it for the Injury of the People. "Besides," subjoined he, "when "the Power to enforce the Privilege is lost, "it becomes no longer an Object to retain "such a Privilege. The People have *asso-*

" *ciated,* and have compelled Parliament to " listen to their Voice." Dundas likewise opposed Wilkes's Motion; but he did not the less reprobate Fox's Doctrine, as dangerous, and subversive of all Government. " *Associations,*" he maintained, " would lead " to every Excess: for, if ten Individuals " might legally associate, so might ten Thou- " sand. From such Meetings, of which, " Lord George Gordon had exhibited a " Specimen, only Confusion, Tyranny, and " Despotism, could arise." The Secretary of State made no Reply: but, having unfortunately given his ministerial Sanction in early Life, to various Measures calculated for affixing parliamentary Disapprobation on the celebrated Member who originated the Motion; Fox therefore probably thought, that a Regard to his own Character compelled him, however contradictory to his late Line of Declamation and of Action, when haranguing his Constituents in Palace Yard; to abide by, and to attempt a Justification of his Conduct, relative to the Election for Middlesex. No public Man, indeed, in my Time, ever appeared to me to consider so little Apology requisite for the Contradictions and Derelictions of his poli-

tical Principles; or seemed so completely to regard the House of Commons, as an Assembly fit for becoming the willing Agents and Instruments of every Delusion, however gross or palpable, as Fox. The Difficulties of the Undertaking never deterred or intimidated him; and his splendid Talents, which could lend to Sophistry the Colours of Truth, emboldened him, by Turns, to attack and to defend, according to the Situation in which he stood, almost every Position and Tenet, either of monarchical Authority, or of constitutional Freedom.

While the House of Commons was thus occupied in Measures of Reform, or engaged in retracting their past parliamentary Errors; the new Ministers, as if they anticipated their speedy Dismission, employed the precious Moments of their precarious Power, in distributing among themselves, without Loss of Time, the Honors of the Crown. Four *Garters*, which had been found on the King's Table, unappropriated, at the Time of Lord North's Resignation, they naturally considered as lawful Plunder. One only of the Number fell to the Share of the Sovereign, which he was allowed, though

not without some Difficulty, to confer on his third Son, Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence. The remaining three were reserved for themselves, with a due Regard to their respective Consequence, Party, and Pretensions. Lord Rockingham having long since received the Order, from the Hands of George the Second; the Duke of Devonshire, as Head of the Whigs, was invested with one blue Ribband, and the Duke of Richmond honoured with another. Lord Shelburne took for himself, as was to be expected, the fourth *Garter*. A very great Person, then in early Youth, who was present at the Ceremony of the Investiture, observed with considerable Discrimination of Character, that never did three Men receive the Order in so dissimilar and characteristic a Manner. "The Duke of Devon-" shire," said he, "advanced up to the Sove-" reign, with his phlegmatic, cold, awkward " Air, like a Clown. Lord Shelburne came " forward, bowing on every Side, smiling, " and fawning, like a Courtier. The Duke " of Richmond presented himself, easy, un-" embarrassed, and with Dignity, as a Gen-" tleman."

The Earl of Ashburnham, who had been during more than Six Years Groom of the Stole, laid claim to one of the *Garters*, under a Promise which he asserted to have received from the King, and of which he endeavoured to enforce the Performance. His Royal Master, though he did not deny the Engagement, pleaded his Inability to fulfil it, under the actual Circumstances of his Situation, which left him no longer any Option in distributing the Decorations in Question. This Excuse did not, however, satisfy Lord Ashburnham, who was said to have addressed to the King, a Letter of Reproach on the Occasion, couched in Language rather too severe from a Subject to his Sovereign, even if the Cause of Offence had been better proved, or more legitimate in itself. His Resentment at the supposed Infraction of the Royal Word, impelled him to resign his Office; which, as being in the King's immediate Family, and near his Person, has always been considered exempt from Ministerial Interference. Lord Weymouth, who succeeded him, had acted a much more important Part in earlier Periods of His Majesty's Reign, when he filled during a very

considerable Time, the Post of Secretary of State; and even held the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, for a few Months, though he never crossed over to Dublin. He was a Man of very eminent Talents, though accompanied with great Singularities of Character; highly convivial, whose Conversation entertained and delighted: but, in order to profit of his Society, it was necessary to follow him to White's, to sit down to Supper, to drink deep of Claret, and to remain at Table till a very late Hour of the Night, or rather, of the Morning. "Junius," alluding to this well known Circumstance, when addressing the Duke of Grafton, in June, 1771; says, referring to Lord Weymouth, "Yet he must have Bread, my Lord, "or rather he must have Wine. If you "deny him the Cup, there will be no keep-"ing him within the Pale of the Ministry." Lord Gower, the Chancellor, and Rigby, were, through Life, his intimate Friends and Companions. His Application to Business, by no means kept Pace with his Abilities, nor was he ever a popular Minister. Indeed, if we except the first Mr. Pitt, Henry Bilson Legge, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, during about five Months after

His Majesty's Accession to the Throne; and perhaps we may add, to a certain Degree, the Marquis of Rockingham; all three of whom were devolved on him by his Grandfather, or forced upon him by the Nation; George the Third cannot be said to have had any Minister, in any Department, previous to Lord North's Resignation, who enjoyed Popularity. We must except from the Remark, Lord Camden, during the short Time that he held the Great Seal as Chancellor. Lord Weymouth attracted a considerable Portion of the Indignation which characterizes Junius's opening Letter, written in January, 1769, for having officially signed the Order which authorized the Military to fire on the Populace assembled in St. George's Fields. "Recovered from the "Errors of his Youth, from the Distraction "of Play, and the bewitching Smiles of "Burgundy," says that Writer, "behold "him exerting the whole Strength of his "clear, unclouded Faculties, in the Service "of the Crown." He had preceded Lord Ashburnham as Groom of the Stole, in 1775; from which Office he became Secretary of State for the Home Department; an Employment that he held about Four Years,

being succeeded in 1779 by the Earl of Hillsborough. Ten Years afterwards, Pitt created Lord Weymouth a Marquis.

Though the Administration of which Lord North so long constituted the Head, had ceased to exist, yet many of the Parliamentary Institutions which had originated under him, still continued in Activity. Among the principal, might be esteemed the Secret Committee for enquiring into the State of the East India Company's Affairs. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, as their Chairman, brought forward almost as soon as the House of Commons met after the Change of Ministers, various *Reports*, calculated to shew the Causes, not only of the Disgraces and Calamities sustained in the Carnatic, but of the improper Expenditure of Blood and Treasure in other Parts of Hindostan. On these *Reports* he founded a Number of *Resolutions*, which were finally adopted by the House. Sir Thomas Rumbold, late Governor of Madras, and two of his Colleagues, Members of the Council, became the first Objects of public Accusation. The second Blow fell on Sir Elijah Impey, who, in his Quality of Chief Justice of Bengal,

was supposed, or asserted, in more than one Instance, to have lent his legal Aid and Support to the Supreme Government, from self-interested Motives, and for unjust, as well as pernicious, Purposes. Hastings himself, then Governor General of Bengal, and Hornby, Governor of Bombay, became implicated or involved in these Criminations. Dundas, when mentioning the former, in the Course of his opening Speech to the House, admitted that Mr. Hastings had on many Occasions proved himself a most meritorious Servant of the East India Company; but, added, that he was not authorized to fancy himself an Alexander, or an Aurengzebe; preferring frantic military Expeditions before the Improvement of Commerce, and the Cultivation of the Arts of Peace. He then called on the new Ministers to aid and support him; or, if his Propositions for the Amelioration of our Affairs in India, clashed with any of their Plans, he offered to resign the whole Business into their Hands. Fox in Reply assured him of the warmest Support from Administration. Our Situation in the East, as depictured by the learned Lord, held up, he said, a Mirror, reflecting the State of our Affairs in the

West. Then alluding to Lord North, he subjoined, "The Effects of the pernicious "System, which, thank God, is at length "destroyed, are felt at this Hour throughout "every Portion of the Empire!" Burke, in still stronger Language, inveighed against the System of Corruption, which, he asserted, had pervaded all the Channels of the State under the late Ministry. Measures, adapted to the Nature of the imputed Offences, or Misconduct of each of the above-mentioned Persons, were adopted. Rumbold, who possessed a Seat in the House, as one of the Representatives for Shaftsbury; having arrived from India early in 1781, under Circumstances that rendered him highly unpopular, was restrained from either leaving the Kingdom, or from alienating his Property, by Act of Parliament; and severer Steps were meditated, or set on Foot against him. He contrived nevertheless, after bringing his eldest Son into the House soon afterwards, to protract the Proceedings, and ultimately to elude all Punishment. An Address was voted by a great Majority, and presented to His Majesty, requesting him to recall Sir Elijah Impey from his judicial Situation in India. Finally, Resolutions, of a Nature

tending to hold out both Mr. Hastings and Mr. Hornby, in their public Capacity, as Men who had committed Acts of the most culpable or unjustifiable Kind, were agreed to in the House. But, the advanced Period of the Session, and the unsettled State of domestic Affairs in a Cabinet divided by Animosity, prevented or postponed the further Prosecution of these interesting Concerns, to the subsequent Year.

On the other Side the Atlantic, Misfortune still accompanied the English Arms. St. Christopher's, after a long and gallant Defence, surrendered: the Islands of Nevis and Montserrat were lost. Even the valuable Settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, situate on the Continent of South America, which we had taken in the preceding Year from the Dutch, were recaptured by France. Rodney, indeed, having arrived out, joined Sir Samuel Hood at Barbadoes: but he found himself unable to intercept, or to prevent, the Arrival of a Convoy from Brest, which brought to the French Admiral de Grasse, supplies the most essential for his projected hostile Operations. At Home, general Despondency or Apathy pervaded

the Country. Every Allegation which had been brought forward against the late First Lord of the Admiralty while in Office, was renewed with augmented Violence, now that he had retired to private Life; and these Clamors were supported or encouraged by the new Ministers. Fox, speaking on the Subject of Retrenchment, in the House of Commons, upon the 6th of May, when Burke's Bill for diminishing the royal Household, was under Consideration, launched out into his accustomed Condemnation of the preceding Ministry. "An Enquiry into "the actual State of the Finances," he observed, "was already commenced. He anxi- "ously wished that another Enquiry should "be instituted, to disclose the Condition of "the Navy, *which had been found deplorable* "*beyond Conception.*" "As to the Nature "of our foreign Alliances," added he, "no "Enquiry is necessary. Should a Commit- "tee be appointed to sit upon that Subject, "their Report must be concise; *we have* "*none.*" Sir George Rodney's Victory constituted the best Reply to the Charges made against Lord Sandwich. The American War, and the Calamities which it produced, not any Want of Exertion, Foresight, or Ta-

lent in the late Cabinet, had alienated from us the Continental Powers, and rendered ineffectual every Endeavour to form Connexions of Policy or Friendship with the European States. Rodney himself was enveloped in the Accusations levelled against the Board of Admiralty which had sent him out; and Disasters more severe than any that we had yet experienced, were predicted or anticipated, as about to happen in that Quarter of the Globe where he commanded. Never was the Nation less prepared for, nor less in Expectation of, the great Victory that impended in the West Indies, than a Week, or even a Day, before the Intelligence arrived. It required the utmost Exertions of the new Admiralty, to prevent the Dutch Squadron, which quitted the Texel at this Time, from effecting a Junction with the combined Fleets of France and Spain, commanded by Guichen. Lord Howe, now restored to the British Navy, and like Keppel, created an English Viscount, effected a Service so distinguished, which unquestionably entitled him to the Gratitude of his Country.

[7th May.] If Mr. Pitt, whether from the

Dictates of profound Ambition, or from the Calculations of ordinary Prudence, had thought proper to refuse accepting any Place or Situation under the new Ministry; he did not on that Account, withdraw his individual Exertions as a Member of Parliament, or retire in any Degree from public View and Admiration. On the contrary, he came eminently forward at this Time, as a Candidate for national Approbation, in the delicate, as well as arduous Character of a political Reformer. The Spirit of the Times, which operated greatly in his Favor, removed many of those Obstacles, that might have impeded him, if he had made the Attempt under the former Administration. While Burke carried Retrenchment into the Palace, as well as to the Table, of the Sovereign; Pitt aspired to renovate, or to reorganize, the national Representation. In the Progress of a Speech, conceived with consummate Ability, and delivered from the Treasury Bench, he endeavoured to shew the Vices of the actual State of popular Election, and to point out the most efficacious or salutary Remedies. The Abuses alleged by him to exist; which were indeed indisputable, seemed at first Sight loudly to

demand Redress. But, on the other Hand, Theory and Practice might be found greatly at Variance; and even the Reformers themselves, it was well known, differed widely in their Ideas or Opinions on the Point. The Duke of Richmond, who carried his Principles to an Utopian and visionary Length, would have extended the Right of voting, almost to the whole Population of Great Britain. Fox supported on this Occasion, both with his Eloquence and his Vote, the Plan proposed by Pitt: but, Burke, less democratic in his Ideas of Government, refused to lend his powerful Aid to a Cause which he disapproved. The Secretary at War, Mr. Townsend, who looked forward to the Possession of a Borough, at the Decease of George Selwyn, his Uncle; equally absented himself, as did others of the ministerial Followers. Lord North, though he attended the Discussion, and opposed all Innovation, yet, to the Surprize of his Friends, took no active Part in the Debate. Dundas, however, supplied his Place, and made an animated Appeal against the projected Reform; as did Mr. Thomas Pitt, at great Length, with much Ability. Indeed, I thought his Speech as eloquent, as persuasive, and more solid in its Deductions,

than that of his Relation, who brought forward the Question.

Conscious as Mr. Thomas Pitt was, that he represented only a *nominal* Borough; and elected Himself, together with his Father-in-Law, Pinckney Wilkinson, as Members for *Old Sarum;* he felt the Subject to demand extraordinary Delicacy. Nor did he make a false Step, from the Commencement to the Close of his Discourse. On the contrary, he endeavoured with great Address, to shew from his own Conduct through successive Parliaments;—for he had sate, I believe, in five;—that a Man returned to the House of Commons by a single Tenement, might be as independent, as high minded, and as incorrupt, as he who took his Seat for a County, or for the City of London. While he paid the greatest Compliments to the Mover of the Proposition, he denied the Principles and the Facts on which his Relation founded every one of his Conclusions. Equality of Representation, Mr. Thomas Pitt observed, never was, nor could have been the Basis on which our Ancestors meant to erect the Liberties of England, since they allowed

the little County of Rutland to send as many Members to that Assembly, as Yorkshire or Somerset. To one Proposition for reforming the Representation, and to one only, which had been recommended by the great Earl of Chatham, he expressed his Assent; namely, the Addition of a Knight of the Shire, or Member for every County throughout England. Sawbridge seconded, and Sheridan supported, Pitt's Motion; but, Sir Charles Turner, by his Originality and blunt Simplicity of Diction, as well as of Sentiment, attracted more Attention than either the one or the other. He said, "in "his Opinion, the House of Commons "might be justly considered as a Parcel of "Thieves, who having stolen an Estate, "were apprehensive of allowing any Person "to see the Title Deeds, from the Fear of "again losing it by such an Inspection. "That they were not the Representatives of "the People, was clear; for, they had car"ried on the cursed American War, though "the Voice of the whole Nation opposed it." "I believe, indeed," added he, "the present "Ministers are more honest than their Pre"decessors; but I want the Constitution to "be so established, that no Administration,

" however bad, may be able to convert it to " the Injury of the People." Powis strongly opposed the Motion, as did Rigby, who not only treated all Innovations as dangerous theoretical Experiments, but, denied that a Reform in the national Representation, was demanded by the People. *Associations*, he said, formed exclusively of Individuals who met for the express Purpose, proceeded to elect *Delegates*; and these latter published *Resolutions* in the Newspapers, which were falsely assumed to speak the public Opinion. Sir Horace Mann moved *the Order of the Day*.

The Measure itself not being a Party Question, though of a Nature the most interesting; by no Means attracted the Attendance which had been produced by the Motions, that preceded the Dissolution of the late Administration. Scarcely more than three hundred Members voted upon it, while near five hundred had been present in more than one of the Divisions of the Month of March. Pitt's Proposition " to appoint " a Committee for enquiring into the State " of the National Representation," though it could only be considered as a preliminary Step, yet was negatived by a Majority of

twenty. I made one of that small Majority, and it is a Vote of which I not only never have repented, but, of which I more and more approve on full Consideration;—for, I have always regarded the Rejection of Pitt's Attempt, in 1782, to alter the national Representation, as one of the narrowest Escapes which the British Constitution has had of Subversion, in our Time. Eleven Individuals passing over from one Side to the other, might have opened wide the Door of Innovation. And, once opened, what Power could shut it? The Moment too was peculiarly favorable to Propositions of Reform and Amelioration, when the Nation, bent down and disgusted by the Calamities of the American War, lent a ready Ear to every Project that held out the Prospect of a better Order of Things. When the same Subject was agitated anew in the following Session, the Danger was over. Peace had been restored; and though Mr. Pitt not only brought it again forward, but, was joined by two of his most formidable Opponents;—I mean, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and Mr. Dundas;—yet the House rejected it by a great Majority. So complete a Change had taken Place in public Opinion, between the two Periods! It was indeed difficult not to re-

flect, while listening to the Arguments of Mr. Pitt, who eloquently depictured the Corruption of the rotten Boroughs, among which, several, he said, "were to be consi- "dered as within the Controul of the Car- "natic; and under the immediate Influence "of the Nabob of Arcot;" that he was himself, sitting at that very Time, for Appleby, by the Influence, or in other Words, by the Nomination of an English Nabob, Sir James Lowther. To the corrupted State of the Representation, therefore, it was owing that he had himself obtained a Place in the House of Commons.

It was equally impossible not to be conscious, that if the Regulation which enacts, that every Member of that Assembly shall be *bonâ fide* possessed of three hundred Pounds per Annum Freehold Estate, had been severely and literally enforced; neither Fox, nor Pitt, nor Sheridan, nor many other eminent Individuals, could ever have sate in Parliament. Probably, indeed, on the Day that Mr. Pitt made his Motion, he scarcely possessed any Property; certainly, no landed Property: and as to Fox, though actually Secretary of State, he was known to be plunged in Debts,

contracted by Play, which left him without Fortune, or almost Means of Support. But they did not less constitute the two most distinguished Persons of the Age in which they lived, the Ornaments of their Country in different Lines. Fox always maintained without Reserve, in private Conversation, as well as in Parliament, that to enforce rigidly the Rule relative to the Qualifications of Members, would be at once to exclude Talents from obtaining Entrance into the House. So little, indeed, may Speculation and Fact agree, that if the List of Representatives for the County of York, of Devon, or of Lincoln, ever since the Reign of Elizabeth, down to the present Year, were to be compared with those who have been sent to Parliament during the same Period of Time, from the vilest Cornish Borough; we shall find, that in every Quality justly recommending to a Seat in the Legislature; namely, high Birth, extensive Property, distinguished Talents, or public Principle and Virtue; the Superiority will be found, in many Instances, perhaps in most, to incline on the Side of the Persons elected for the Boroughs. Such an Estimate might be difficult to make, and must be always in some Measure open to Dispute: but it serves

to prove, that various Principles in Legislation, as well as various Abuses, do not produce the Effects which might naturally be expected to result from them in Theory.

[8th—16th May.] Two great public Measures were successively brought forward about this Time, by the new Administration; of both which, the Secretary of State formed the official Organ for their Communication to the House of Commons. Both appeared to me highly deserving of Approbation, as dictated by a vigorous Policy, or by a Spirit of wise Conciliation. The first was a Plan for arming the People, or more properly, an Invitation to them to arm themselves, contained in a circular Letter addressed by the Minister for the Home Department, to the Magistrates of the principal Cities throughout the Kingdom. If we contemplate the critical Position of Great Britain in May, 1782, previous to our receiving the Intelligence of Rodney's Victory; surrounded by Enemies who had been during successive Years, almost Masters of the English Channel; while the whole East Coast, from Leith down to Yarmouth, lay exposed to an Attack or to an Invasion from the Dutch,

who had recently treated with Contempt, Fox's Overtures for a separate Treaty;—if we weigh these Circumstances, we cannot with Justice refuse our full Tribute of Praise to an Act of such judicious Energy. Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, nevertheless, animated, as he always was, by public spirited and honest, though in this Instance, mistaken Views of national Benefit, or Safety; brought the Consideration of Lord Shelburne's Letter before the House of Commons. Mindful of Lord George Gordon's Outrages, when a furious, but, happily, an unarmed Mob, surrounded and menaced both the Assemblies of Parliament; he called upon the King's Ministers to explain and to justify their present Proceeding: a Proceeding unauthorized previously by either Branch of the Legislature. Thus questioned, or rather, inculpated, Fox rose, and in a Speech of great Ability, worthy an enlightened, as well as a liberal Statesman, assigned the most convincing Reasons for the Adoption of the Measure. Nor did he omit, according to his usual Practice, to derive new Arguments in its Justification, drawn from the Incapacity, Neglect, or culpable Want of Exertion in the late Ministers; whom he accused of

keeping the Country ignorant of their Danger, and not daring, Themselves, to look it in the Face. He received nevertheless on this Occasion, both from Dundas and from Rigby, the strongest Assurances of Support, accompanied with the warmest Eulogiums on the Conduct of the Cabinet. Mr. Coke himself, though sustained in his Arguments by Mansfield, the late Solicitor General, admitted the Validity of the Reasons which the Secretary of State assigned, and only demanded that the Measure should receive the Sanction of Parliament, previous to its general Adoption. No Act of the Marquis of Rockingham's Government seems entitled to more unqualified Commendation, than the Plan for thus rendering the People, the Agents of their own Protection against foreign Force. It has been found in later Times, when improved and extended, our best Security against internal Insurrection, as well as against the formidable Armaments of revolutionary France.

[17th May.] The second Measure to which I allude, regarded Ireland, and was dictated by an overwhelming Necessity, if not by enlarged and generous Views of Po-

licy. That Island, completely in Possession of Independence, and defended by her own Volunteers, exacted, with Arms in her Hands, a Renunciation of all Parliamentary or legislative Supremacy on the Part of Great Britain, together with a similar Abandonment of the appellant Jurisdiction exercised here in the Courts of Law. In Return for these Concessions, she offered her loyal Submission to the King of *Ireland*, the common Sovereign of both Kingdoms. Fox, after demonstrating with great Force of Reason, that we had no other Alternative left us than Acquiescence, subjoined, "If therefore "I shall this Day be compelled to move "any Proposition humiliating to English-"men, the Fault is not mine. It is the "Fault of those Ministers, who left the Vo-"lunteers of Ireland in a Condition to make "the Demands, contained in the Addresses "laid upon your Table: not, indeed, by "leaving Arms in their Hands, but, by leav-"ing them their Injuries and their Oppres-"sions."—"Of the Volunteers themselves, I "must speak respectfully: for, they have "acted with Temper and Moderation; nor "have they committed a single Act, which "does not excite my Veneration and Re-

"spect. Whatever Blame may be attributed "throughout this whole Business, I impute "not a Particle of it to Ireland. *I lay it all "at the Door of the late Administration.*" He then moved to repeal the Act of 1719, which declared the Dependence of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain; observing, that it would constitute a Pledge to the Inhabitants of the Sister Island, of our Sincerity, and Determination to conduct ourselves openly throughout every Stage of the Transaction.

Mr. Thomas Pitt, who had performed a very prominent Part in all the Debates of the lower House, during the whole Course of the last, and of the present Session, seconded the Motion; but, not without previously entering his Protest against some of the Principles and Doctrines laid down by Fox on that Day. Doctrines or Opinions, which, it must be owned, coming from a Minister of the Crown, seated on the Treasury Bench, having the Management of the House of Commons, and in some Measure directing the Cabinet itself, sounded very extraordinary to loyal Ears; and savoured more, as I thought, of Algernon Sydney, or of Hampden, than of a Secretary of State under

a Monarchy. Not a Word was uttered throughout the whole Discussion, by any Member of Lord North's Administration, either in their own Exculpation, or expressive of their Sentiments relative to the Propositions about to be adopted. I must except Mr. Eden from this Remark, who was present in his Place, and gave his Assent or Approbation, qualified nevertheless by certain Reservations, to Fox's Proposal. The Motions passed without a dissentient Voice, though not without a Feeling of universal Humiliation. Ireland, imitating America, had in Fact emancipated herself from all Subjection to British Laws, but she still remained obedient to the Monarchy. Perhaps, this Day may be esteemed the Point of our lowest Depression as a Nation, during the calamitous Period of Time between the Commencement of the American War in 1775, and the Peace of 1783. Only a few Hours afterwards, arrived the Tidings of Rodney's Victory; an Event which electrified the whole Population of Great Britain; proportionately depressed our European Enemies; and being followed by their Repulse before Gibraltar, at the Interval of scarcely four Months, produced our Extrication.

Pitt having failed in his Attempt to alter the Representation in the House of Commons, Sawbridge endeavoured in some measure to attain the same Object, by shortening the Duration of Parliaments; but, his Motion was happily rejected; 149 voting against it, while only 61 Members supported the Proposition. The Debate nevertheless was not only animated, but, gave rise to some Circumstances of great Singularity. Rigby opposed it, as from *Him* might have been expected; treating the Idea itself with Contempt or Ridicule, and utterly denying that it was either the Sense or the Wish of the People at large. He concluded by adverting to a Meeting of the Electors of Westminster, which had been held in Westminster Hall a few Days before; observing sarcastically, that "the best Sense of the Assembly there "convened, could not probably be collected "upon this Occasion, on Account of Mr. "Fox's Absence from it." The Secretary of State immediately rose, and with the manly Disdain of all little prudential Arts, or half Measures, which always characterized him, whether in, or out of Office, replied, that his only Reason for not taking the Chair, when that numerous and respectable Body of In-

dividuals met, was because he knew their Intention of addressing His Majesty, on the late Change of Ministers. Being himself a Member of the new Cabinet, he conceived it indecorous to preside on such an Occasion. "The Right Honorable Gentleman," continued he, "who has just sate down, asks, "how we are to collect the Sense of the "People? Why, let him turn his Eyes to-"wards Ireland, and see how it has been "collected there. The Parliament of that "Country spoke one Language, and the "Nation spoke another. In Consequence, "the People armed: but it is the Fatality "of this Country, never to open its Eyes "till general Ruin menaces, and every Man "is preparing to take up a Musket." We must admit that these Expressions, even if we allow their Truth, and admire their Energy, would have been more suitable to the Leader of Opposition, than to a Man filling one of the highest Offices of State. Such unquestionably was the Impression made by them at St. James's; and I believe I might add, in St. Giles's. It was evident that Fox, even while holding the Seal of his Department, looked more to the Approbation and Support of the People, for retaining

his Situation, than to the Favor of the Sovereign. We may even suspect that he already foresaw or anticipated the Events which took Place, only a few Weeks afterwards, on Lord Rockingham's Decease. Nor can we wonder that George the Third should entertain strong Prejudices against a Man, who seemed never to forget that he owed his Power solely to the Predilection of the People, and who only hoped to preserve it by their active Interference. Fox, when speaking in the House of Commons, would have done wisely to recollect, that another illustrious Statesman, as well as profound Writer, who, like himself, passed almost his whole Life in Opposition to the Government of his Day;—I mean, the Cardinal de Retz;—has observed—"*qu'il vaut "mieux faire des Sottises, que d'en dire:*" Words dictated by a perfect Knowledge of human Nature and of Man.

Pitt sustained Sawbridge's Motion with far more Decision, more Energy, and with a much stronger Conviction of its Utility to the Cause of constitutional Freedom, than was manifested by the Secretary of State. The latter lent only a very limited Appro-

bation to it; adding, that "as he was convinced the People wished it, and *would have it*, he should vote for it; though he doubted whether it would be productive of the beneficial Effects, expected to result from the Proposition." I am indeed persuaded, that if Fox had been once confirmed in Office, and acceptable to the Sovereign, he would have steadily repressed all democratic Innovations; as, on the other Hand, had Pitt passed his whole Life on the Opposition Bench, poor and excluded from Power, I believe he would have endeavoured to throw his Weight into the Scale of the popular Representation. So much does Situation, as well as Sentiment, operate on the Tenor of our Conduct through Life! It appeared to me, that Pitt had received from Nature, a greater Mixture of republican Spirit, than animated his Rival; but, royal Favor and Employment softened its Asperity; while his superior Judgment and Command over himself, enabled him to conceal those Emotions, to which Fox imprudently gave vent. Sir Charles Turner set the House in a Roar, though at his own Expence, by his Answer to Rigby's Observations on the Meeting held in Westminster

Hall. "I will make free to tell the Right "Honorable Gentleman," said he, "that "more good Sense was uttered in that As- "sembly, and to a much honester Audience, "than I ever witnessed within these Walls. "The People who attend there, do not come "for Hire, and to get Places. They meet "for the Purpose of asserting their Rights, "and to defend their Wives and Children." Powis, whose Love of Liberty was always under the Controul of Moderation, good Sense, and Loyalty; opposed Sawbridge's Experiment on the British Constitution, as neither desired by the Nation in general, nor, if conceded, likely to operate for the public Felicity and Advantage. In a Speech of considerable Length, full of Matter, decorated with all the Charms of Elocution, Burke brought his powerful Assistance to the same Side; demonstrating how injurious to the People themselves, to the public Tranquillity, and to the Greatness of the State, the Abbreviation of Parliaments would be found in Practice. He always held and maintained similar Principles: nor was Fox, I believe, at all chagrined at the Result of the Debate, and of the Division.

Nearly two Months had now elapsed since Lord North's Resignation; during which Period of Time, though he attended frequently in his Place; yet, except when personally attacked, as he had been a few Weeks before, on the subject of his own, and of Robinson's Pension; he had scarcely given any Marks of political, or parliamentary Existence. Still less had he thrown any Impediments in the Way of the new Ministers. Even Fox's Reproaches or Accusations did not seem to rouse him, though they might painfully wound his Feelings. This Line of Action was probably wise and judicious, as it allowed Time for the Operation of Events, domestic, as well as foreign; while he might avail himself of the Errors of the new Ministers, or of their Divisions. The Fate of Jamaica in the West, of our Territories in the East, and of Gibraltar in the South, were all problematical. Under so deep a Cloud, oppressed by the Loss of America, and unpopular, he could not immediately emerge. Like Lord North, Jenkinson equally withdrew from public Observation; rather affecting to take his Seat, unnoticed, in obscure Parts of the House, than to appear conspicuous on the

Opposition Bench; though he more than once rose to speak on Points unconnected with Party, as they presented themselves for Discussion; and he never spoke without throwing Light on the Subject under Examination. Among all the eminent Supporters of the late Ministry, Dundas and Rigby alone held together, spoke, voted, and acted in a sort of Concert; sometimes supporting the new Administration, but, without abandoning their former Opinions or Principles. This Union nevertheless terminated with Lord Rockingham's Tenure of Power; Dundas then attaching himself to the Earl of Shelburne and Pitt; while Rigby, pressed for the Payment of his large Balances due to the Public, finally joined the Coalition of Lord North and Fox.

In 1782, Rigby might however be considered as a declining, if not a setting Luminary; whereas the Lord Advocate of Scotland was a rising political Constellation. Nor could any Comparison be made between their respective Abilities. The late Paymaster of the Forces, who had risen under the Patronage of John, Duke of Bedford, by whose Friendship he was principally elevated to the lucrative Post that he had so

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long exclusively occupied; derived his principal Support from the powerful Party of that deceased Nobleman, better known during the first Years of the present Reign, by the Denomination of "the Bloomsbury Gang." His own Talents, which had received very little Improvement from Education or Cultivation; though good, and admirably calculated in many Points of View, for a popular Assembly, yet derived much of their Effect from the Manner of their Possessor. He spoke too from an Eminence, while holding the Pay Office, where the Festivity of his Table attracted many Supporters. But, when dislodged from that Fortress where he had sustained himself so long, and removed to a House of very moderate Dimensions in St. James's Place, his Abilities sunk nearer to their just Level. He might indeed have then said to George the Third, as the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, did to Queen Elizabeth, when she observed that his House was too small for him, "It is your Majesty who has made me "too great for my House." Dundas, on the other Hand, though no longer seated on the Treasury Bench by Lord North, and thrown into the Shade, in consequence of the Change of Administration, contained in

himself all the Materials of which a superior Minister might be composed. True, indeed, he wanted the classic Elegance of Pitt and Fox, of Burke and Sheridan: but, in masculine Eloquence, Decision of Character, Firmness, Resources of Mind, Suavity of Manners, Application, and all the Qualities of a Statesman, he manifested no Deficiency.

[18th May.] Such was the general Aspect of the House of Commons, when the Capital and the Country were thrown into a Delirium of Joy, on receiving the Intelligence of Rodney's Victory over De Grasse, gained upon the preceding 12th of April. It is difficult for us in this Age, who have been accustomed to obtain naval Advantages over the French; and who were used to calculate beforehand, on the Destruction of every Fleet that effected its Escape from the Ports of France, as soon as we could come up with them; to appreciate, or to imagine, its Effect on the public Mind. We had been habituated, during so long a Time, under Keppel, Byron, Hardy, Parker, Graves, Geary, Darby, and their Successors, to indecisive or unfortunate Engagements, productive of no beneficial Results, that the Na-

tion began to despair of recovering its former Ascendancy on the Ocean. In Fact, during near twenty Years, ever since the Termination of the War with France in 1763, the British Flag had scarcely been any where triumphant: while the Navies of the House of Bourbon, throughout the Progress of the American Contest, annually insulted us in the Channel, intercepted our mercantile Convoys, blocked our Harbours, and threatened our Coasts. Under these Circumstances, the Excess of the public Exultation was prodigiously augmented, by the Dejection that pervaded all Ranks during the former Part of the Month of May, and by the utter apparent Improbability of such an Event taking place.

When I reflect on the Emotions to which it gave rise in London, I cannot compare them with any Occurrence of the same Kind, that we have since witnessed in this Country. The Victory of Lord Howe, gained on the first of June, 1794, glorious and salutary as it was to Great Britain; yet seemed to be more a Triumph over Jacobinism and Anarchy, than over the French Nation or Navy. It was Robespierre and his regi-

cide Accomplices, not Louis the Sixteenth, whom we there vanquished. Lord St. Vincent, and Lord Duncan, unquestionably merited, each, the highest Eulogiums: but they destroyed, at Cape St. Vincent, and at Camperdown, the Fleets of Spain and of Holland, not those of France. And no Englishman is insensible to the Distinction. The sublime Victory of Trafalgar, itself, was clouded by the Death of Nelson, which checked and tempered the general Joy. If I were to mention any naval Action, the News of which seemed to diffuse Sentiments nearly resembling those felt in May, 1782, I should incline to name that of Aboukir. But, in the Battle of the Nile, where the Destruction of the Enemy was much more complete, though we destroyed and blew up the French Admiral's Ship, we did not either capture her, or her Commander. There was combined in Rodney's Victory, as Lord Loughborough at the Time remarked in the House of Peers, all "the Pomp and Pride, "and Circumstance of War." It commenced with the rising Sun, and only terminated with that setting Luminary. The Elements were hushed, only a light Air prevailing; and the contending Fleets were very

nearly matched. Jamaica, the Prize contended for by the two Nations, was preserved by the Result; while all the promised Conquests of France and Spain, so near their apparent Realization, disappeared, no more to be revived, even in Idea. It constituted a sort of Compensation to Great Britain, for so many Years of Disgrace, for so great an Expenditure of Blood and Treasure, and even for the Loss of America itself. The Country, exhausted and humiliated, seemed to revive in its own Estimation, and to resume once more its Dignity among Nations. France, amidst all her past Success, declined proportionably in the Opinion of Europe, and has never since arrogated the same Rank, as a Naval Power. It formed in Fact the last Triumph of England on the Element of the Water, over the House of Bourbon, before that great Family itself, after reigning eight hundred Years over the French, sunk under the Torrent of Revolution and Anarchy.

Lord Cranston, one of the Captains of the *Formidable*, Sir George Rodney's Ship, who brought over the News to this Country; having, in Consequence of that Commander's

special Injunctions, waited on Lord Sackville, though then no longer in Office as American Secretary, in order to communicate to him the Particulars of the Action; I had an Opportunity of hearing Lord Cranston's Account of the Engagement. He was sent, after the *Ville de Paris* struck, to take Possession of her, as well as to receive de Grasse's Sword; and he described the Scene which the French Admiral's Ship presented, on his ascending her Side, as altogether terrible. Between the fore-Mast and main-Mast, at every Step he took, he said that he was over his Buckles in Blood, the Carnage having been prodigious; but, as Numbers of Cattle and Sheep were stowed between Decks, they had suffered not less than the Crew and Troops, from the Effects of the Cannon. On the Quarter-deck, which remained still covered with dead and wounded, only de Grasse himself, together with two or three other Persons, continued standing. The French Admiral had received a Contusion in the Loins, from a Splinter, but was otherwise unhurt; a Circumstance the more remarkable, he having been, during the whole Action, for so many Hours, exposed to a destructive Fire, which swept away almost all

his Officers, and repeatedly cleared the Quarter-deck. He was a tall, robust, and martial Figure; presenting in that Moment, an Object of Respect, no less than of Concern and Sympathy. Lord Cranston said, that de Grasse could not recover from the Astonishment into which he was plunged; the Expressions of which he often reiterated, at seeing, in the Course of so short a Time, his Vessel taken, his Fleet defeated, and himself a Prisoner. He was allowed to pass the Night on board his own Ship, with every Testimony of Attention and Regard manifested towards him, on the Part of the British Commander.

An Opinion which became very generally prevalent at the Time, and obtained much Belief, has made a deep Impression on the public Mind; namely, that this Victory, signal as it must ever be esteemed, might nevertheless have been rendered far more complete, if it had been immediately improved by pursuing without Delay, the flying Enemy. The Friends of Sir Samuel Hood strongly maintained that Position; and partial as I am to the Memory of Lord Rodney, I confess that there always appeared to me,

to have been some Foundation for the Assertion. He was, himself, well aware of the Charge; and I have heard him defend the Line of Conduct which he adopted subsequent to the Victory, by very plausible, if not by solid and unanswerable Reasons. He observed, that it was altogether unwarrantable, and might have been attended with the most ruinous Consequences, to have detached twelve or more Ships of the Line, under Sir Samuel Hood, in Pursuit of twenty-five at least of the French; which Number remained together, as was believed, after the Action, and still constituted a most formidable Force. If any Check had been experienced by us, in consequence of such Eagerness or Precipitation, it was obvious that the Fruits of the Victory itself might even have been lost. Bougainville and Vaudreuil, who commanded under de Grasse, enjoyed a higher Reputation for naval Skill, than the Commander in chief, and might have repaired the Defeat. How far these Facts or Assertions may carry Conviction to every Mind, I cannot venture to determine.

Fox, when moving the Thanks of the House of Commons to Sir George Rodney,

which Act he performed in his Place, as Secretary of State, only a few Days afterwards; mentioned with Expressions of great Delight, the Unanimity which pervaded the victorious Fleet. "It was," he said, "with "peculiar Satisfaction he could assure the "House, that every Letter received from the "West Indies, breathed the most perfect "Harmony. No other Dispute or Com-"petition existed among the Officers, ex-"cept who should be most forward in ad-"vancing the public Cause." But, Lord Rodney, after his Return to England, made no Scruple of declaring the contrary in mixed Company, where I was myself present. He even wrote Home at the Time, in his private Letters, more than one of which I have seen; that so violent was the Spirit of Party and Faction in his own Fleet, as almost to supersede and extinguish the Affection felt towards their Sovereign and their Country, in the Bosoms of many Individuals serving under him. To such a Height had it attained, that he asserted there were among them, Officers of high Rank, and of unquestionable Courage, who nevertheless bore so inveterate an Animosity to the Administration then existing; particularly to

the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich; as almost to wish for a Defeat, if it would produce the Dismission of Ministers. Similar Assertions were made by Members of the House of Commons, in their Speeches. However incredible the Fact itself may appear, and however lamentable it must be considered, if it was well founded; yet it is not easy to conceive the Antipathies, political and personal, that had grown up in the English Navy, during the American War. They formed one of the characteristic Features of the Times, and operated to the inconceivable Injury of the British Name and Nation.

The Commencement of Rodney's public Letter, addressed to Mr. Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty, on this glorious Occasion, excited a Smile among the Critics and Grammarians; as he stated, that, "It "had pleased God, *out* of his divine Pro- "vidence, to grant to His Majesty's Arms "a most complete Victory over the Fleet of "his Enemy;" whereas, it seemed rather to have been an Act performed *in* his divine Providence. This Error of a Naval Commander, unaccustomed to Composition, and

whose Profession was not the Pen, but, the Sword; did not however attract the same Comments, as an official Dispatch which we have since perused, sent from one of His Britannic Majesty's Embassadors, who, addressing the Secretary of State, from *Constantinople*, appeared, by some Act of oblivious Inadvertence, to consider himself in *Asia*. Rodney's Enemies, of whom he had a great Number, asserted, that after the Victory was gained, he gave way to a Sort of Intoxication of Mind, on finding himself Master of the French Admiral's Person and Ship. I remember, they said that he seated himself in an Arm-chair, placed on the Quarter-deck of the "*Formidable*," as the Moon rose, in order to indulge his Sight with the View of the "*Ville de Paris*," which lay near him in a disabled state, and whose Sides far overtopped those of his own Vessel. And they added, that he burst into Expressions or Exclamations of extravagant Self-praise and Complacency; mingled with some Reproaches on the Want of ministerial Gratitude, which he had experienced for his past Services. Even admitting all these Facts to be true in their utmost Extent, they only prove the Infirmity of human Na-

ture; and similar Instances of Weakness occur in the History of the most illustrious Commanders. Rodney, like the celebrated Marshal Villars, so distinguished under Louis the Fourteenth, talked perpetually of himself, and was the Hero of his own Story. But, Posterity will never forget the Debt of Gratitude due to his Services, nor cease to consider him as one of the greatest Men whom the English Navy produced in the Course of the Eighteenth Century. He unquestionably displayed Coolness and Science, on the Day of the 12th of April; directed in Person every Manœuvre, and preserved during twelve Hours that the Action lasted, the utmost Presence of Mind. Lord Cranston said that he never quitted the Quarter-deck for a Minute, nor took any Refreshment, except the Support he derived from a Lemon, which he held constantly in his Hand, and applied frequently to his Lips.

If Rodney did not spare his Animadversions on the Spirit of political Enmity and Faction, which pervaded the British Navy; his Opponent, the Count de Grasse, made still louder Accusations, and sent Home

stronger Charges to the Court of Versailles, against the Jealousies or Rivalities which actuated the Officers serving under him, on that memorable Day. They doubtless, towards the Close of the Action, abandoned their Commander to his Fate, and sought their Safety in Flight: but, the unforeseen Manœuvre by which Rodney had intersected the French Line, at the Commencement of the Engagement, threw the whole Fleet into inextricable Confusion; and it is very doubtful, whether by prolonging, or even by renewing the Contest, Bougainville and Vaudreuil would have in any Measure retrieved the Misfortune. De Grasse, it is admitted on all Hands, displayed the most unconquerable Firmness. But, perhaps he highly merited Censure, at a Moment when he saw before him in full Prospect, so vast an Object as the Conquest and Reduction of Jamaica; not to have suffered one or two Ships of the French Line to fall into our Hands, rather than Sacrifice, as he did, the whole Plan of the Campaign, to their Preservation. I know such to have been the general Opinion entertained throughout France, where de Grasse laboured under popular Odium to so great a Degree, that

while, after the ensuing Peace, Suffrein always received, on entering the Theatres at Paris, the warmest Testimonies of Admiration, from every Part of the House; de Grasse did not venture to present himself at the public Spectacles, from the Apprehension of Insult. Even the Court manifested similar Sentiments; and though decorated with the Order of the "St. Esprit," he could not obtain Permission to walk in the annual "Procession du Cordon Bleu" at Versailles, for several Years subsequent to the Defeat in the West Indies.

The Effect of so splendid a Service rendered to his Country, at a Moment of such Dejection, and the Popularity which it justly produced, in some Measure disarmed the meditated Attacks of Rodney's Opponents at Home. Burke, who had heaped the severest Accusations upon him, for his Conduct towards the Inhabitants of St. Eustatius; and who was preparing to bring forward a Motion in the House of Commons, tending to criminate him for his Acts while in Possession of the Island; immediately abandoned the Intention. With one of those classic Allusions which were familiar to his

elegant Mind, he observed, that "the great "national Benefit performed by the English "Admiral, obliterated his Errors; and like "the Laurel Crown decreed by the Roman "Senate to Julius Cæsar, covered, as well "as concealed, his Baldness." Even the Rancour expressed by the new Ministers and their Friends, towards Lord Sandwich, seemed to be blunted, if not mollified, by this undeniable Proof of his meritorious Exertions, in sending out a Fleet to the West Indies, capable of vanquishing the French naval Force. It was justly said that *Alexander* had conquered with the Troops of *Philip*. No further Mention of Impeachment or Prosecution, was made against the late First Lord of the Admiralty. The Cabinet, nevertheless, evincing, in every Part of their Conduct, the Reluctance with which they remunerated Rodney's Merits; had already superseded him, by naming Admiral Pigot to the Command of the Fleet in the West Indies. But, as he had not quitted England, before Intelligence arrived of the Victory gained over de Grasse, it was evidently the Wish of the Country, loudly expressed, that Rodney should not be recalled, at a Moment when he had raised the

naval Character of Great Britain, humbled France, and saved Jamaica. The new Administration, however, far from paying any Regard to this Expression of the general Opinion; and apprehensive of some Motion being made on the Subject, in one or the other of the two Houses of Parliament; instantly sent off Pigot, in a quick sailing Frigate, from Plymouth, with Orders to replace the victorious Commander.

Severe Comments were passed out of Doors, upon the Appointment, made under such Circumstances; especially as Pigot had been already constituted a Member of the new Board of Admiralty. Even the House of Commons, though since Lord North's Resignation, the Majority seemed completely subservient to Fox, yet manifested some Symptoms of Disapprobation. It was besides commonly asserted, that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, lay under pecuniary Obligations to Pigot, of several thousand Pounds, for Losses incurred at Play. And, though such a Report might have originated in Error or Malevolence, yet it was difficult to disprove; as Fox's notorious Passion for Gaming, had subjected

him to similar Engagements and Embarrassments. Lord Keppel, when questioned in the House of Peers, respecting the Fact of Pigot's Appointment, felt so conscious of the Indefensibility of the Measure, that he did not dare to own it; but he contrived to evade the Enquiry, by stating the Want of Evidence before them, to prove the Nomination. It was impossible more clearly to avow how much he was ashamed of such a Transaction. The Opposition, during Lord North's Administration, in their Anxiety to decry the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, asserted that Sir Edward Hughes was bound to divide with him, a certain Proportion of whatever Prize-Money he might acquire; as a Return for being appointed to the naval Command in the East Indies. "Junius" treats the Duke of Grafton, when First Minister, in various Letters, with Indignation, for having given a Pension of five Hundred Pounds a Year, to Sir John Moore, whom he designates as a "Broken Gambler." Nor does he hesitate to add, that the Pension was "proba-"bly an Acquittance on the Part of the "Duke, of Favors upon the Turf." But, how infinitely less culpable were Lord Sand-

wich, or the Duke of Grafton, had the Allegations been ever so clearly proved, than was Fox, if we assume the Truth of the Fact imputed to him, in acquitting his Debt to Pigot, by sending him out to the West Indies?

Rodney's Victory, if it had taken place two Months earlier, would probably have operated to retard, or altogether to prevent, Lord North's Resignation. Nor did any Man doubt, that the Admiral himself would have received more distinguishing Marks of Ministerial Gratitude, as well as of royal Bounty, if Lord North had continued at the Head of Affairs, than were conferred on him by that Nobleman's Successors. Lord Howe and Admiral Keppel had just been raised by their Party, to the Dignity of English *Viscounts*, without the Performance of any naval Service on the Part of the latter Officer. Many Persons thought that an *Earldom* would not have constituted a Reward too eminent for so important a Victory. We have seen that high Rank of the Peerage conferred, since on Sir John Jervis, for the Battle gained over the Spaniards, off Cape St. Vincent's; a Victory, as was com-

monly reported, principally due to Sir Horatio Nelson. Lord Duncan, Lord Hood, and Lord Bridport, have all been created for their Exploits, English *Viscounts*. It was not without evident Marks of Unwillingness, that a *Barony*, and a Pension of two Thousand Pounds per Annum, were rather extorted from, than spontaneously given by, the Ministry, to Rodney; accompanied with his immediate Supersession in the Command of the Fleet. It must however be admitted on the other Hand, that previous to the Time of which I am now writing, the most distinguished naval Services rarely conducted to the Peerage. Anson, it is true, from a Concurrence of Circumstances, was raised to it: but, neither Saunders, nor Boscawen, nor Pocock, attained to that Honor. Even Hawke, far from being called up to the House of Peers, after he had destroyed the Fleet of France in 1759, at the Mouth of the Loire, was only made a *Baron* by Lord North, near seventeen Years afterwards; and then, in Company with several other Individuals who were raised to the same Dignity. It is for Posterity to judge how far these Circumstances may form some Excuse, for the ap-

parent Want of Liberality towards a Man, who had rendered so critical, as well as so distinguished, a Service to his Country.

[22nd May.] No sooner had the House of Commons assembled, after the Adjournment of a few Days which followed Sawbridge's Motion, than the Secretary of State rising, moved the Thanks of the House to Sir George Rodney, for his late glorious Victory; of which Event he spoke in the warmest Terms of grateful Admiration, though conscious that the triumphant Commander who had atchieved it, was already superseded by him, in Order to make way for Pigot. Such Acts of ministerial or political Inconsistency, never indeed appeared to cost Fox any Effort, as he covered them under the Blaze of Sophistry, Eloquence, and Talent. On this Occasion, he must nevertheless have felt how contradictory was his Conduct, in praising, rewarding, and recalling the same Man, at one and the same Time. Lord North, who ever since the 20th Day of March, seemed to have remained in a Sort of Stupor, now coming forward spontaneously, joined in the Tribute due to Rodney for a Victory, which, he said, was

not only the greatest gained in the Course of the present War, but, perhaps, the most complete of any recorded in the naval Annals of England. Unquestionably, the late First Minister derived a Pride and a Confidence from the same Event, which involved the new Cabinet in proportionate Embarrassment. After dwelling for a few Minutes, on the brilliant Service just rendered, Lord North concluded by remarking, that it would be proper to extend the Thanks of the House, to the Flag Officers of the Fleet, who had merited so well of their Country. To this Proposition Fox instantly assented, with many Acknowledgements to the noble Mover for the Suggestion; and for the first Time since Lord North's Resignation, some Expressions of Courtesy and Respect fell from the Lips of the Secretary of State, addressed to a Person whom he had hitherto only loaded with Accusations. So much had the unexpected Intelligence just arrived, already mollified the Asperity of the new Administration towards their Predecessors! Mr. Rolle, then Member for the County of Devon, and since raised to the Peerage, having asked if it was true that Sir George Rodney was about to be superseded in his

Command; Fox replied that he was already recalled, and another Officer sent out to succeed him. Such an Act, even if Rodney had not performed so recent, and so splendid a Service, could scarcely be justified, either on public, or on private Grounds: but, taking Place instantly after a Victory so eminent, it excited general Condemnation.

Impressed with that Sentiment, Rolle rose a second Time, and stated his Determination to move an Address to His Majesty, that he would be pleased not to remove the Admiral from his present Situation. Had such a Motion been actually submitted to the House, it is by no means improbable, the new Ministry might have been left in a Minority: but, Dundas extricated Fox from a Dilemma, to which even *his* pre-eminent Ability might have proved inadequate without Assistance. The Lord Advocate observed that such a Proceeding would intrench on the Prerogative of the Crown, and at the same Time violate the Rules by which Parliament was accustomed to regulate its Conduct; as the Responsibility of Ministers must be removed from their own Shoulders, to those of the House of Commons. "No Individual," he

added, "could entertain higher Feelings of "Gratitude towards the gallant Commander "in Question, than he did; but, a para-"mount Regard to the Constitution, im-"pelled him to oppose the Proposition." Rolle then dropping his first Intention, declared that he would nevertheless move an Address to the King, to bestow some Mark of royal Favor on the Admiral. Here, however, he was once more stopped by Dundas, who said that a Motion of such a Nature, would be in Fact dictating to the Sovereign, in whom alone was constitutionally vested the Power of conferring Rewards or Graces: adding, that it was to be presumed, the Servants of the Crown would offer such Advice to their Prince on the present Occasion, as it was worthy of him to pursue. Fox became now as profuse in his Expressions of Acknowledgement to the Lord Advocate, as he had previously been to Lord North. In Dundas's Doctrine he said, he fully concurred; and with the Decision of Tone and Character natural to him, he protested that no Man or Men, short of the Majority of the House, should ever induce or compel him to explain on what Grounds one Officer was recalled, or another appointed. It was a

royal Prerogative, which he would not allow to be either abridged or controled. "For," concluded he, "though I am an Enemy to "the Influence of the Crown, I will always "support its just Prerogative."

Whether the Motives by which Mr. Dundas was actuated in thus extending such opportune Support to Administration, were the only Springs of his Conduct; or whether any less obvious Reasons prompted him to stand forward, and to extend a Sort of Shield over them; must be left to Conjecture. Certainly, the Service rendered, was one of no ordinary Description. But, Governor Johnstone, though he did not attempt to contravert the Lord Advocate's Assertions; yet, after expressing his Sense of the glorious Atchievement just performed in the West Indies, added, "I could have desired "that the Thanks of this House should have "been moved from some other Quarter, not "from the Ministers, who have just disgraced Sir George Rodney, by recalling "him."——"The Secretary of State tells "us that Unanimity reigns throughout the "Fleet. And is that a Reason for superseding the gallant Commander, and tear-

"ing him from the Men whom he has so "often conducted to Victory? Under such "Circumstances, the very Thanks of this "Assembly become an Insult, when accom-"panied by his Supersession." Almost any other Minister than Fox, would have been embarrassed under such a Charge, nor was even He altogether without evident Discomposure. As however he never abandoned a Friend or a Measure, because the one was in Distress, or the other unpopular; as he always trusted to his own Powers of Mind for Extrication; and the Determination to send out Pigot, having been taken; he undertook to defend it. His Speech nevertheless formed a Mass of contradictory Matter. He began by denying in the strongest Terms, that *Recall* and *Disgrace* had in them any Species of Alliance. If he had entertained any Prejudices against the gallant Admiral, for his Conduct at St. Eustatius, he said, the recent Victory had obliterated them. On Johnstone he pressed with great Severity, for preventing the Unanimity of the House: but, the Governor, whose Tenacity in maintaining whatever Proposition he embraced, equalled that of the Secretary; rose to reply. The Discussion might even have assumed a new

Form, if Cornwall, the Speaker, interposing from the Chair, had not for the third Time in the same Day, come to the Aid of Administration, by calling Johnstone to Order. No further Impediment being presented, the Thanks were voted, and the House adjourned; Fox having exhibited a strong Proof of his ministerial Ascendancy over the Assembly, though undoubtedly in Contradiction to the Opinion of a great Majority of the Members present on the Occasion.

[23d—30th May.] The public Dissatisfaction nevertheless being loudly and generally expressed in every Corner of London, at the Recall of Sir George Rodney, Mr. Rolle brought forward the Subject a second Time, to Parliamentary Notice. He observed, that to supersede an Admiral in the Moment of Victory, was in itself an impolitic Measure; but, to send out as his Successor, a Man who for near twenty Years had not once been at Sea, and who had never performed in the whole Course of his professional Life, any distinguished naval Service, constituted an Act most unwise and censurable. Rosewarne, Member for Truro, remarked, that the present Ministers were now committing,

against the general Sense of the Country, the very Act which they so violently reprobated in their Predecessors; namely, driving from the Navy, the most able and distinguished Officers. "The Earl of Sandwich," added he, "has been denominated by the Secretary of State, in former Debates, a Minister "of the King of France. He has approved "himself a bad Minister to his Employer, "since he has confessedly sent out to the "West Indies, one of the best appointed "Fleets which ever quitted the Ports of "England." I spoke, myself, on the same Side, in that Debate, and ventured to assert that the only similar Case occurring in our Annals, presented itself under Queen Anne, when the great Duke of Marlborough, in the midst of his Triumphs, was recalled, in Order to make way for the Duke of Ormond. Nor did I hesitate to declare my Conviction that the Victory just gained, though perhaps less complete than the Defeat of Conflans by Admiral Hawke in 1759; yet, under the Circumstances of the Moment, might justly be accounted superior in its Effects, to that, or to any Atchievement in our naval Records. Upon what Principle then could Admirals Howe and Keppel have been

created *Viscounts*, while only the Dignity of a *Baron* was conferred on the Man, who had performed so transcendent a Service? Lord North, though he said he wished to decline giving any Opinion on the recent Supersession, and the new Appointment, characterized it nevertheless as a hasty Measure. "If," continued he, "a similar Act had been "committed under the late Administration, "I should have been attacked without Mercy "from every Quarter. Yet, though I do "not approve the Nomination of Admiral "Pigot, I value the Unanimity of the Fleet "so highly, that I should be reluctant to "send out any Resolution, which might con-"vey a Censure upon his Appointment. "Unanimity, both at home and abroad, are "indispensable; and though *I* was made a "personal Sacrifice to obtaining it, I shall "rejoice if the present Ministers experience "it in its utmost Extent."

These Sentiments, however elevated or patriotic they may seem, were by no means received on the Part of the Secretary of State either with Gratitude, or even with Satisfaction. On the contrary, after questioning the Sincerity of Lord North in his

Expressions of Cordiality, and his pretended Wishes to preserve Unanimity among the Officers and Seamen of the Fleet; he observed, that unless the Motion, which criminated Ministers for recalling Sir George Rodney, was to be followed by another, for their Removal, the first would be nugatory. "Did the noble Lord," he demanded, "mean "to go that Length? And if such was his "Intention, why did he not speak out?" Of Pigot, the Secretary expressed himself in Language of great Encomium, as being every way qualified to succeed Rodney. "The Crime that he had committed in the "Eyes of the late Ministers, lay in his Name "being found in a certain *Paper*, together "with those of various other Admirals, de-"precating the Trial of Keppel." Relative to Lord Rodney, he appeared to labour under no small Embarrassment, and to involve himself in much Contradiction. The Victory just gained, Fox admitted to be brilliant; but, his Conduct at St. Eustatius, had produced Prejudices against him. "I am "ready," added he, "to balance his Victory "against his Demerits, and to bury in Obli-"vion all Enquiry respecting his past Con-"duct, unless the intemperate Zeal of the "Admiral's Friends, shall provoke me to

" adopt another Line of Conduct." He concluded by rather insinuating than asserting, that if a *Baron* was not considered a Rank of the Peerage sufficiently elevated for Rodney's Services, no Objection would be made to conferring on him a higher Title.

If the Secretary expected by the Style and Tone of his Reply, to intimidate or to silence his Adversaries on that Day, the Event did not justify his Assumption. Lord North, after animadverting with some Wit, on various Parts of the preceding Speech, denied the Assertions made respecting Pigot. The late Admiralty, he observed, had offered him a Command, which he thought proper to decline. But, as Rodney had constantly refused to sign the *Paper* in Question, might not his Recall arise from that very Circumstance? " Had His Majesty's Ministers, of " whom I formed a Member," continued he, " recalled a great and illustrious Officer in " the Moment of Victory, we should have " been assailed with Motion after Motion in " this House." Severe as Lord North might seem in these Remarks, Johnstone far exceeded him. There existed indeed between the Governor and the Secretary of State, a

Degree of personal Ill-will approaching to Enmity; the latter always affecting to regard Johnstone as an Apostate or a Deserter; he having, some Years earlier, left the Ranks of Opposition, and joined the Administration, by whom he had been employed, both as a Negotiator, and in the Line of his Profession. Johnstone in Retaliation, treated Fox as factious, and as sacrificing every Consideration to Party, or to private Views of Ambition. Starting up as soon as Lord North had finished, "Now," exclaimed he, "I am perfectly satisfied with the Supersession of my noble Friend. The Right Honorable Secretary holds him up as a Delinquent. If he be such, unquestionably he ought to be recalled. I now rejoice, as much as I was previously shocked, at this Treatment:—for, now an Opportunity will be afforded him to clear his Character from the Aspersions of his Enemies. Charges brought against him by Jews and Traitors! Charges which he will refute with Ease; and of which Fact I can speak with Certainty, having perused many Parts of my noble Friend's Defence."——"The Secretary of State proposes to compromise the Charge, and to bury it in an *Earldom*. But, I scorn such a Proposal, and in my

"Friend's Name I protest against Honors,
"which are to be purchased by such a Com-
"promise. Honors and Titles can never
"sit easy on a Delinquent."

After thus exhaling his Resentment, he then entered on the Particulars of the Action fought on the 12th of April, as well as on other Parts of Lord Rodney's naval Exploits: but, as Lord North, though he highly disapproved the Recall of that illustrious Commander, did not desire to push Matters to a Question, no Division took Place. Ministers remained Masters of the Field: not however without suffering in public Opinion, which censured them in the strongest Terms. An Attempt, made by Sir Francis Basset, now Lord de Dunstanville, only a few Days afterwards, to procure for Lord Rodney, a Provision of four Thousand Pounds a Year from the Crown, underwent the same Fate as Mr. Rolle's Motion: Fox parried it in a similar Manner. A *Barony*, with *half* the annual Sum proposed by Basset, was ultimately conferred on him. He returned home, and Pigot assumed the Command of the victorious Fleet: but, I believe, in the Course of six or seven Months that he retained it, he never captured any Vessel of

the Enemy, except a Spanish Polacre, nor performed any other eminent Service. All the deserved Popularity, which Fox—for, He only was regarded as directing the Cabinet;—had obtained by the Measures embraced relative to arming the People, and for conciliating Ireland; was more than counterbalanced by the Selection of Pigot to replace Rodney. If the Marquis of Rockingham approved so hasty an Act, he must be esteemed a weak, or an ill-advised Minister. If he reflectively allowed the Secretary of State to sacrifice the public Interest, to his own personal Predilections or Objects, he was a highly culpable Minister. I am not sufficiently informed on the Point, to venture on hazarding any Opinion. Posterity, better instructed, may perhaps decide upon it. Fox unquestionably lost the finest Occasion which Fortune could have presented him, for acquiring general Applause and Admiration, by continuing Rodney in the Command, after Intelligence had arrived of the glorious Result of the 12th of April.

[June.] While the Victory obtained over de Grasse, produced so vast and beneficial an Alteration in the Affairs of Great Britain beyond the Atlantic; Time seemed rapidly

maturing another important Change, or rather Convulsion, in the domestic Concerns of the Kingdom. From the first Formation of the new Cabinet, its jarring Materials indicated, in the Opinions of all discerning Men, their speedy Disunion and Separation. Fox, conscious of the Alienation in which the King held him, morally, as well as politically, possessed too much Penetration not to foresee, and to predict, an approaching Change of Administration. He was not without Difficulty restrained from precipitating it, by his open Disapprobation of the intended, or imputed Measures, of some of his Colleagues. The stern Inflexibility of Lord Thurlow, likewise, who as Chancellor, thwarted and opposed, in the House of Peers, many of his Measures, greatly irritated him. Already Fox began to alter his Language, when speaking of that Nobleman; on whom, while a Member of the late Cabinet, he had lavished so many Encomiums at the Expence of his Colleagues in the Administration. Nor did the Preference shewn towards Lord Shelburne, on all Occasions, by his Majesty, tend less to accelerate a Rupture. In this Situation of Things, the Decline of the Marquis of Rockingham's

Health, by incapacitating him to take as active a Part in public Affairs as he had previously done, removed the only remaining serious Impediment: while it facilitated the Accomplishment of those Objects, which Prudence and Precaution alone had hitherto compelled the Sovereign to delay, till the Arrival of a favourable Opportunity.

[1—20th June.] Hitherto during the Course of nearly two Sessions, Fox and Pitt had almost invariably coincided upon every Point submitted to Parliamentary Discussion: but, the Term of their apparent political Union now approached. Lord Mahon, who, by his first Marriage stood in the near Relation of a Brother in Law to Mr. Pitt, was then one of the Representatives for Wycombe. His ardent, zealous, and impetuous Mind, tinged with deep Shades of Republicanism and Eccentricity, which extended even to his Dress and Manners; was equally marked by a bold Originality of Character, very enlightened Views of the public Welfare or Amelioration, inflexible Pertinacity, and a steady Uprightness of Intention. This Nobleman, who was at that Time about twenty-nine Years of Age, having introduced a Bill into

the House, for the Prevention of Expence and Bribery at Elections, Powis strongly opposed it. Pitt replied to him; denying that the Regulations proposed, would constitute any Innovation on the British Constitution, which, on the contrary, they were calculated to renovate and restore. Mr. Secretary Fox took the contrary Side, and in a Speech of great Ability, after many flattering Compliments to his honorable *Friend*, maintained nevertheless that the Principles of the Bill had not been fairly stated by him. "On all Questions or Points which had for "their Object to effect an equal Representa- "tion," he said, "Mr. Pitt might rely on his "firmest Concurrence and Support. There, "they never could disagree: but, on the pre- "sent Subject, their Opinions differed, and he "had stated with much Deference the Rea- "sons of his Dissent." Pitt did not meet these Expressions of friendly Respect, with all the Cordiality or Suavity that might have been expected. He was indeed lavish of his Encomiums on the splendid Display of Eloquence made by the Secretary of State; which, he observed, impressed him with deeper Admiration, because, instead of overturning the Arguments which he had, him-

self used, it on the contrary supported them. The House dividing, Lord Mahon's Bill was carried by a Majority of only one; and being again resumed three Days afterwards, the Discussion was renewed between Pitt and Fox; not, indeed, with any Asperity or Personality, but, with much Pertinacity. Sheridan joined in the Debate, taking Part against one of the most important Clauses; which being rejected by sixty-six Votes, opposed to twenty-six, Lord Mahon immediately declared that he would proceed no further in the Measure. It would not, indeed, of itself have excited much Attention, if it had not elicited the first Sparks of Disagreement between two Persons, who attracted so great a Share of national Consideration.

[22d—30th June.] One of the last important or interesting Discussions, which took Place in the House of Commons, previous to the Marquis of Rockingham's Decease, owed its Existence to the Attorney General. That intrepid and upright Lawyer, acting without any Concert whatever, uncertain of Support from any Quarter, but, impelled by his deep Sense of public Justice, and of private Rectitude; brought forward

to Parliamentary Notice, the Question relative to the Balances of Money remaining in the Hands of public Accountants. The Enquiry being levelled principally, though not solely, against Rigby, who, as late as the Month of May, 1781, held no less a Balance in his Possession, than Eleven Hundred Thousand Pounds; he, apprehensive of some prompt or efficacious Resolution being adopted, which might subject him to Difficulties of a pecuniary Nature, procured by personal Applications, a very numerous Attendance. I have rarely witnessed so many Members present in their Places, at so advanced a Period of the Session. To this Circumstance Kenyon alluded, when he rose to make his Propositions, observing that it gave him Pleasure to see so full a House on such an Occasion. With stern Severity of Voice and Manner, he declared that only a strong Sentiment of Duty actuated him. "Party Views," added he, "I have "none, nor have I consulted any Individual "whatever, on the Nature and Propriety "of the Motions that I am about to make. "Nay, I am ignorant whether any Member "of the House will second them: but, my "Determination to propose them remains "unalterable." It must be confessed that

such an Attorney General does not arise frequently, nor could a Man of so independent a Mind be acceptable to any, except Ministers of the most elevated and incorrupt Description. Having stated that his Object was to compel the Payment of the Balances due to the Public, who, he said, had a Right to the Issues and Profits of their own Money; he added, that if he should be defeated in that House, the Courts of Law would still remain open to him, where he might bring the Question to a legal Decision. He concluded by moving various Resolutions, one of which declared that "Rigby and Welbore Ellis, were both accountable for the Interest received by them, of the Balances that respectively remained in their Hands, from the Day of their quitting their late Offices."

No sooner had Kenyon finished, than Fox presented himself to Notice; and after acknowledging that his learned *Friend* had not consulted *Him* on the Business just opened, he contested with much Warmth, and equal Ingenuity, the Attorney General's Proposition. It might, he admitted, be Law; but, it did not appear to him, to be common Sense:—an Assertion which

he endeavoured to elucidate, as well as to prove, by pointing out the essential Difference between a Guardian, who is bound to place the Money of his Ward in a State to yield *Interest;* and a public Accountant, who is only held responsible for the *Capital* advanced to him for public Purposes. I must confess that this Doctrine appeared to me to be sound, and by no means inconsistent with the immutable Principles of Justice: but, from the Lips of the Secretary of State, it came with a bad Grace; his Father, Lord Holland, standing in the same Position as Rigby; being accused by the public Voice, though perhaps unjustly, as a great Defaulter; and his Executors never having, down to that Day, been able to obtain his *Quietus* from the Exchequer. Yet Lord Holland had quitted the Pay Office more than seventeen Years, when Kenyon agitated the Question then before the House, during all which Time the Public derived no Benefit from the Balances remaining due from that Nobleman's Estate.

Governor Johnstone, who never lost any Opportunity of attacking Fox; though he disapproved of Kenyon's Motion, yet contrived to wound the Secretary in a tender

Part. "Why," he demanded, "should the "Executors of Lord Holland be allowed "many Years for paying in his Balances, if "Rigby and Ellis were to be compelled to "make a similar Payment, within the short "Space of two Months?—As to myself," continued he, "my Reason for attending "in my Place to-day, was not with a Design "of supporting any particular Cause; but, "merely from Curiosity, in order to observe "what Part the Right Honorable Secre-"tary would take on a Question, where he "is himself so personally concerned." Nevertheless, Lord North coinciding perfectly with Fox, in the Doctrines that he had laid down, and pronouncing them to be *orthodox;*—Wallace, the late Attorney General, declaring that in his Opinion, the Public had no Right whatever, to demand any Interest on the Money lying in the Hands of great national Accountants; an Opinion which he sustained by strong Reasoning;—Powis agreeing in the Justice, as well as in the Solidity, of Fox's Observations; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer supporting the same Arguments;—under these Circumstances, Kenyon consented to withdraw the obnoxious Resolution. Having however

substituted in its Place, a Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill, to enable the Exchequer to receive the Balances due from Rigby and Ellis, he was again opposed, and on a Division, left in a Minority of Eleven. The Secretary of State, as well as the other Members of Administration, supported and voted with Kenyon, though probably Fox was by no means displeased at the Result of the Day.

No rational Doubt can exist, that even if Death had not carried off the Marquis of Rockingham, yet a Change in the Administration would equally have taken Place, nearly at the same Time, and in the same Manner, as it was afterwards effected. The Necessity of making such Arrangements as might, it was hoped, secure its Duration, and enable Lord Shelburne to surmount the Opposition to be expected in Parliament, had solely prevented him hitherto from accepting the Place of First Lord of the Treasury. But, as the Session drew towards its Close, that Difficulty gradually ceased; while the Period which must of course elapse between the Prorogation and the subsequent Meeting, would afford, in all Probability, if

well improved, various Means of strengthening the new Ministry. Lord Shelburne had already made Advances to, and had sounded Mr. Pitt. His Talents, Eloquence, and Popularity, sustained by his illustrious Name, rendered him, notwithstanding his Youth, capable of being successfully opposed to Fox, in the House of Commons. His Ambition, which had impelled him to disdain, and to reject, a secondary Place under the existing Administration, pointed out to Lord Shelburne the obvious Bait, by which he might be induced to lend his powerful Support; namely, a Cabinet Office. The Decorum and Regularity of his private Life, altogether untinctured with the Vices of Fox's Character, gave him a vast Superiority, in the Estimation of all those who considered correct moral Deportment as indispensable to a Man placed in public Situation. In the Contemplation of these Circumstances, and with these Intentions, it is well known that the King had fully determined to displace such Members of the Cabinet as constituted the Rockingham Party; and to transfer the Management of the Treasury to the Earl of Shelburne. The Lapse of a few Days, would perhaps have disclosed and produced this

important Event, when the Decease of the First Minister spared His Majesty the Necessity of dismissing him from his Post.

[1st of July.] Lord Rockingham, though hardly fifty-two Years of Age, already sunk under an infirm and debilitated Constitution. A Decay, to which was added a slow Fever, or as it was denominated, *Influenza*, a Species of epidemic Distemper, had for some Time undermined his Strength, without appearing to menace his immediate Dissolution. He was in his Place in the House of Peers, for the last Time, on the 3d of June, where he both spoke and voted in Support of Mr. Crewe's Bill, for depriving Revenue Officers of their Vote in Elections. But, when he rose to address the House, he declared that he felt himself so severely indisposed, as to be almost incapable of uttering a Word. He even made use of a singular Expression;—for he added, "the Disorder universally "prevalent, afflicts me so violently, that at "Times I am not completely in Possession "of myself." His Speech nevertheless displayed no Defect of Mind. Soon after the King's Birth-day, having quitted Grosvenor-Square, he retired to Roehampton, where

his Recovery was confidently expected by his Friends, and even predicted by his medical Attendants. Indeed, neither Fox nor Burke seem to have been prepared for his Decease; though the former, with the manly, but imprudent Decision that marked his political Character, instantly determined either to keep Possession of the Treasury by Proxy, or to resign his Office. Burke, though he personally detested Lord Shelburne, yet would, I believe, have gladly retained his Situation, under a new First Minister of the King's Election: but, he could not separate himself from Fox. On that Day, they held a long Conversation, evidently of the most interesting and serious Description, in the Court of Requests, where they continued walking backwards and forwards, long after the Speaker had taken the Chair. At length they both repaired to the House, where the Marquis's Death being announced, warm Eulogiums were conferred on his Memory, from various Quarters. Frederic Montagu, himself a Man of distinguished Probity, when mentioning Lord Rockingham, said, "Such was my Opinion "of his Integrity of Heart, and Firmness of "Mind in resisting every Act that ought to

" be resisted, as to make his Concurrence or " Approbation sufficient to sanctify in my " Judgment, almost any Measure." " He " was," observed Fox, " an Honor to his " Country, and an Ornament to human Na- " ture. Others, I admit, may have possessed " more brilliant Talents; but I know of " none who more truly loved his Country, " or who displayed in a more eminent De- " gree, that extraordinary Combination of " Firmness of Mind, with Softness of Man- " ners, by which he was peculiarly charac- " terized." " Well may I be excused," ex- claimed Burke, " for mingling my Tears " with those of all Ranks and Descriptions " of Men, for the inestimable Loss which " we have sustained by the Death of this " most excellent and virtuous Character! " He is gone to appear before that Tribunal " where we must all render an Account of " our Actions; and I believe, no Soul ever " went with a greater and better founded " Certainty of Approbation." These En- comiums may have been merited, as paid to his moral Worth and steady Rectitude of Intention: but, we must remember by whom, and when, they were uttered. Fox, Burke, and Montagu, all relapsed into a compara-

tive Obscurity, by his Death. History will speak of him with more Moderation. An amiable and a respectable Individual, rather than a superior Man, Nature had not designed him to be the First Minister of a great Country. *Junius* well characterizes his Formation of Mind, when he speaks of "the mild, but determined Integrity of Lord "Rockingham." Yet was there, as that Writer elsewhere observes, a Degree of "De-"bility" in his Virtue: but, the Moderation of his Character tempered the Ardor of Fox, and imposed Limits on Burke's Enthusiasm.

The State of his Frame and Health, which, even in his Youth had never been robust; and both which were believed to have suffered severely in Consequence of some imprudent Gallantries, while pursuing his Travels in the South of Italy, at an early Period of his Life; incapacitated him for close or continued Application, during the short Period of his Administration. The Princess of Franca Villa was commonly supposed to have bestowed on him the same fatal Present, which the "Belle Ferroniere" conferred on Francis the First, King of France; and

which, as we learn from *Burnet*, the Countess of Southesk was said to have entailed on James, Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. That Princess was still living when I visited Naples, in the Year 1779; and Sir William Hamilton assured me, that she always expressed the utmost Concern for the unintentional Misfortune, which the Marquis's Attachment for her had produced, as well as for its supposed Results. Leaving no Issue, the greater Part of his vast landed Property, as well as his Borough Interests, descended to his Nephew, Earl Fitzwilliam. In Lord Rockingham's Person too, became extinct the Title and Dignity of a British *Marquis*; he being the sole Individual in the Kingdom who then possessed that high Rank; to which Mr. Pitt has since elevated during his Administration, eleven Individuals; besides creating nine *Irish* Marquises, where there did not previously exist one Peer of that Order. Such has been the prodigious Encrease of Peerages, during the present Reign! Unquestionably, Mr. Pitt, in thus augmenting the Numbers of the House of Lords, was not animated by the same Intention as the Romans attributed to the First of the Cæsars, when he encreased the Senate

to nine hundred; or as Suetonius expresses it, "*Senatum supplevit.*" But, it will be nevertheless for our Descendants to decide, how far he has practically produced a similar Effect on the Constitution of Great Britain, with the pernicious Consequence which flowed from the Augmentation of the Roman Senate by Cæsar.

[2d—8th July.] However deeply sensible Fox might be to Lord Rockingham's Death, and whatever Steps he probably contemplated as the natural Results of such a Blow, he was not so precipitate as to give in his immediate Resignation. He remained a Member of the Cabinet for several Days after it took Place, and on the 2d of the Month, he spoke, (for the last Time indeed,) as Secretary of State, from the Treasury Bench. A Bill for the Regulation of Appointments in the West Indies and America, being then in its Progress through the House; it was opposed by Sir George Savile, on a Principle of jealous Apprehension that we might attempt again to legislate for the Colonies, thereby re-asserting a Supremacy over them. Lord Shelburne having introduced the Bill into the upper House, who

was well known to be very averse to the Declaration of American Independence, that Circumstance excited still greater Alarm. The Attorney General, with the Warmth characteristic of all he said or did, endeavoured to allay Sir George's Fears. "The "Wisdom, Probity, Disinterestedness, and "honorable Intentions of that noble Person," Kenyon observed, "stood so firmly esta- "blished in the public Opinion, that he "trusted, no Man would venture to reject "the Motives which had animated him in "bringing forward such a Measure." But Sir George Savile remaining inflexible, Fox rose, and expressed his Astonishment at the Incredulity manifested on the Subject. "While the present Ministers enjoyed their "Soyereign's Confidence, no Idea," he asserted, "could ever exist of coercing Ame- "rica, or of renewing the System so strongly "reprobated by that House. He could not "speak peremptorily for every Member of "the Cabinet; but he protested that he "would not, himself, remain one Minute in "Administration, after he should discover "an Intention of bringing back the Colonies "to Obedience, either by Force, or by Ne- "gotiation." Fox even proceeded to prove

that, however reluctant the Nobleman in Question might have been in Times past, to the Acknowledgement of American Independence; yet, a wholesome and salutary Revolution had taken Place in his Principles, from the Operation of Events, and of an overpowering Necessity. To these Assurances and Expostulations, which were reiterated by General Conway, Sir George Savile at length gave way: but, the Event proved either that Fox was mistaken, or that Lord Shelburne exhibited a Reluctance to concede American Independence, which he afterwards renounced, when Fox had quitted the Cabinet. Instead of throwing up his Place in Administration, on a bare Suspicion or Belief of Lord Shelburne's Intentions; he ought, (as Pitt told him, a few Days afterwards,) to have summoned a Cabinet Council, and there to have ascertained the Fact, before he proceeded to Extremities. But, Passion, Indignation, and disappointed Ambition, mastering his Reason, impelled him, regardless of the Consequences to himself and to his Friends, to retire, rather than submit to the new First Lord of the Treasury. Pitt, more calm and wise, took Fox's vacant Seat, though not his

Office, in the Cabinet: an Event which the Secretary of State ought to have foreseen, as more than possible; though probably, he was not prepared for it.

If Fox would have submitted to retain his Office as Secretary of State, under Lord Shelburne, after the Decease of the Marquis of Rockingham; it is not to be questioned that the King, whatever personal Objections or Dislike he might have felt towards him, would from prudential Motives, have allowed him to continue in the Cabinet. Nor can it admit of a Doubt, that Fox, by consenting to hold his own Situation, would have induced Lord John Cavendish, over whom he always exercised an unbounded Ascendant, to follow his Example. Burke, who manifested the greatest Reluctance to quit the Pay Office, required rather to be impelled in making that Sacrifice, than appeared to feel any spontaneous Disposition towards resigning so lucrative an Appointment, of which he had scarcely tasted the first Fruits. Fox's private Circumstances were moreover so desperate, as to dictate some Attention to them; and many of his Friends stood in a similar Predicament. He

did not affect to conceal his own Want of Fortune, even when addressing the House of Commons. Speaking of the Motives that impelled him to resign, and of their imperious Nature, which left him no Alternative except quitting Office, he added, "Moved "by these Considerations, though in Point "of Fortune, my Condition is not by any "Means enviable, I have relinquished the "Pomp, the Patronage, and the Emoluments "of Employment.—I confess candidly that "I have not quitted my Place without a "Pang. I am not such a Stoic, as to prefer "being neglected, rather than to be courted; "to prefer Poverty to Riches, Inconvenience "before Comfort, or Obscurity before Power "and Splendor." It was difficult to designate more eloquently his Situation. These Expressions fell from him on the 9th of July, in the Progress of the interesting Discussion that took Place relative to Barré's Pension. Burke, with less Dignity, deplored on the same Day, in the same Assembly, his Ejection from the Pay Office, and his Inability to despise the Favors of Fortune. "I have," said he, "a Family, "and my Means are small. I like my Office: "The House, the Situation, and all its Ap-

" pendages, cannot be otherwise than pleas-
" ing to my Taste. All these Things I can-
" not relinquish without Regret:—for, the
" Welfare of my Family is most dear to me.
" Who can conceive that I would lightly sa-
" crifice all these Things, and four Thou-
" sand Pounds a Year?—I have long been
" surfeited with Opposition, and those who
" know me well, will not denominate me
" factious." These Lamentations remind us of Pomfret's Poem, on Adam's Expulsion from Paradise, beginning,

> " And must I go, and must I be no more
> " The Tenant of this happy Ground?"

Burke's Condition was in every Point of View rendered more critical, in consequence of Lord Rockingham's Decease. I have been assured, that Nobleman, by his last testamentary Dispositions, cancelled all the Money due to him by Mr. Burke, amounting to a considerable Sum: but, did not bequeath him any additional Legacy, or pecuniary Mark of Regard. It was added, that Burke by no means expressed himself satisfied with the Marquis's Conduct towards him in this Respect. Certainly, some of his

Expressions relative to Lord Rockingham, in his Speech to which I have already alluded, were very singular, and might be regarded as equivocal. "Among the Encomiums due to that noble Person," said he, "this was one; that he left his best and "dearest Friends, with the simple Reward "of his own invaluable Intimacy. This peculiar Test of their Sincerity, he demanded "while alive; and it was a Tax which he "imposed on their Regard for his Memory, "when he was no more." Do not these Words obscurely designate the Fact, that he received no Augmentation to his Fortune, by Lord Rockingham's Will? Embarrassed, nevertheless, as were both his, and Fox's private Affairs, the Resentment of the latter, at seeing the Helm of State transferred to Lord Shelburne, when added to his Knowledge of the secret Machinations which had preceded it, extinguished or superseded every other Sentiment in his Bosom. He peremptorily demanded, either that the Duke of Portland should be immediately recalled from Ireland, in order to be placed at the Head of the Treasury, as the Representative of the deceased Marquis, and the acknowledged Chief of the Whig Party; or he ten-

dered to his Majesty his own instant Resignation. His Offer was accepted; and that of Lord John Cavendish, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied it, at the same Time.

When, after the Lapse of five and thirty Years, we calmly examine the Motives by which Fox was actuated in thus throwing up his Office, we must admit that he consulted more his Passions, than his Reason; since he lay under no Necessity of sacrificing either, his Country, or his Principles, to the Preservation of his Employment. Lord Shelburne's Insincerity or Duplicity could not operate to produce the public Ruin, except by the Measures, that, in his Capacity of first Minister, he might bring forward: and whatever Repugnance he might individually feel to grant the American Colonies unconditional Independence, yet the Majority of the Cabinet, after Fox's and Lord John Cavendish's Secession, compelled him ultimately to adopt that Principle. By retaining his Place under the new First Lord of the Treasury, Fox would therefore have secured his Adherence to the late Marquis's Plans: or, on his Departure from them, Fox would

have carried Parliament and the Country with him, by instantly refusing longer to co-operate with a Minister, who evaded or declined recognizing the Sovereignty of the thirteen States. Nor could Lord Keppel and the Duke of Richmond, have then separated themselves from him. If, instead of the violent Step that he took, he had acted with Temper, he would have advanced the Public Interests, while he consolidated his own Tenure of Office. The King and Lord Shelburne, however much they might have desired to dismiss him, could not have ventured on it, without a Pretence. Pitt might probably have become Secretary of State for the Home Department; and a very strong Government must have arisen, from which Lord North, as well as his Adherents, would have been altogether excluded. But, in order to have produced this Benefit to the State, it was necessary for Fox to begin by obtaining a Triumph over himself. He preferred more dictatorial Measures, which in the Course of a few Months, compelled him either to behold his Enemy confirmed in Power, after making Peace, while he himself and his Adherents remained on the Opposition Bench; or, regardless of Consequences,

to form a Junction with Lord North, and storm the Cabinet a second Time. Such were the injurious Results that flowed from his intemperate Precipitation.

Fox, in taking this decisive Step, probably flattered himself that it would have operated to a wider Extent, than actually happened. Though he could not rationally hope that either Lord Camden or the Duke of Grafton would resign; and though he ought not to have supposed that General Conway would lay down his Office; since not one of these Ministers depended on the late Marquis of Rockingham; yet he certainly calculated that his Uncle the Duke of Richmond, as well as Lord Keppel, would imitate his Example. In this Expectation, he was, however, disappointed. They both expressed, indeed, in the Upper House of Parliament, their great Regret at his Secession; but they declined following him out of the Cabinet, and stated the Motives for their Determination. It remained during some Time doubtful, whether Mr. Pitt would have been appointed one of the Secretaries of State, or placed in the Post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The latter Employment was finally conferred on

him. Mr. Thomas Townsend succeeded Lord Shelburne in the Home Department; leaving the Post of Secretary at War to Sir George Yonge. The Foreign Office, vacated by Fox, was last filled up, and given to Lord Grantham. However inferior in Energy and Brilliancy of Intellect to his Predecessor, he possessed solid, though not eminent Parts; added to a Knowledge of foreign Affairs and of Europe, having resided several Years with great Reputation, as Embassador at the Court of Madrid.

Two of the Lords of the Treasury followed Mr. Fox out of Office. One, Lord Althorpe, has since filled with Honor to himself, and Advantage to the Public, as Earl Spencer, a high Cabinet Office under Mr. Pitt's Administration. Frederick Montagu, the other, a Man equally respectable for Probity and for Talents, afterwards raised to the Dignity of a Privy Councillor; was a devoted Adherent of the Cavendish and Rockingham Interest. Mr. Richard Jackson, and Mr. Edward James Elliot, succeeded to these Vacancies. The former Gentleman, one of Lord Shelburne's intimate Friends, bred to the Bar, had obtained

from the Universality of his Information on all Topics, as I have already had Occasion to remark, the Appellation of "Omniscient Jackson." Mr. Eliot afterwards married Lady Harriet Pitt, Sister of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and his Father early in 1784, was created a Peer, while the new First Minister had still to contend against a Majority in the House of Commons. The remaining Member of the Treasury Board, Mr. James Grenville, whom we have likewise seen elevated by Mr. Pitt to the British Peerage, at a later Period of his Administration; did not think proper to imitate the Example of his Colleagues. Mr. Thomas Orde, who became one of the two Secretaries of the New Treasury; like Mr. Grenville, terminated his Career as a Commoner, on the very same Day, fifteen Years afterwards, by a Removal to the upper House of Parliament.

The Peerage formed, indeed, the Euthanasia, the natural Translation of all Mr. Pitt's favourite Adherents, Friends, and Relations, either by Consanguinity, or by Alliance. It must be admitted that Mr. Orde had a double Pretension to it, from his Ser-

vices, and his matrimonial Connexion. While a Member of the House of Commons, he had distinguished himself by drawing up more than one of the most able Reports of the "Secret Committee," appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic, of which Committee he was a leading Member. Mr. Dundas, the Chairman, when addressing the House, on the ninth of April, 1782; after paying him the highest Compliments for his Assiduity and Exertions in that Capacity, added, "Such, indeed, are "the Talents which Mr. Orde has exhibited "in the Business of Investigation, that no "Minister who means to act honestly, can "overlook him, or omit to employ his dis-"tinguished Abilities in the public Service." Great, however, as was the Testimony of the Lord Advocate, to his Merits, which I am not inclined to dispute, yet his best Claim consisted in having married the natural Daughter of Charles, Duke of Bolton; in Virtue of which Union, and from the Failure of male Issue in the Person of the succeeding Duke, Mr. Orde became eventually possessed of some of the finest Estates of that illustrious Family. The Title itself, diminished to a Barony, was revived in him, to-

gether with the Name of Powlett. Lord North remained an inactive, though not an unconcerned, or a silent Spectator, of this new Convulsion in the Councils of the Crown; which had so soon expelled from the Cabinet, one of the two Parties, by whom he was himself driven from Power. Of all those Individuals who had supported his Administration, or occupied any eminent Situation under it, only two quitted him, in order to be received into Lord Shelburne's Confidence and Ministry. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, after eight Years Adherence, now abandoned altogether his ancient political Leader; and imitating the Precedent exhibited by Mr. Pitt, took Office, by accepting the Treasurership of the Navy. From this Period, those two eminent Men continued for the Remainder of their Lives, inseparable in good, as well as in adverse Fortune. Lord Mulgrave followed Dundas's Example. The Duke of Portland, who, as being devoted to the Rockingham Interest, and now placed ostensibly at its Head, adopted of Course Mr. Fox's Line of Conduct, was succeeded in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, by Earl Temple; a Nobleman of very considerable Talents, and

great Application to Business, though, we must admit, inferior in Energy of Mind and Character, to either of his Brothers.

[9th July.] The Interruption which so important a Change in the Government, occasioned in the ordinary Business of the House of Commons; prevented any Discussion from arising in that Assembly during some Days, relative to the Causes and Motives of Mr. Fox's Resignation. But, an Occasion soon presented itself, which enabled him to state all his Grievances, to unfold some Portion of the Mystery that pervaded his Conduct, and to bring forward the heaviest Charges against the new first Lord of the Treasury. A Pension of three thousand two hundred Pounds a Year, having been granted to Colonel Barré, by the Administration of which Lord Rockingham constituted the Head; and another very considerable Pension being given at the same Time, to Lord Ashburton, the two principal Friends of Lord Shelburne in both Houses of Parliament;—these Grants, the Consideration of which was unexpectedly brought forward, became severely arraigned. It seemed, indeed, impossible not to feel a Degree of As-

tonishment, at contemplating such profuse Donations of the public Money, made by Men who condemned Lord North's Want of Economy; who were with Difficulty induced to give a Pension of two thousand Pounds a Year to Lord Rodney, for having defeated the French Fleet, and saved Jamaica; who, themselves, had recently reduced the Household of the Sovereign; and who loudly asserted their personal Disinterestedness. Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, a Man who, like Kenyon, only took the Advice of his own upright and intelligent Mind, in all Cases of public or Parliamentary Duty; coming down to the House, without Concert of any Kind, moved for an Address, to request of His Majesty to declare, which of his Ministers had *dared* to recommend the Grant of the Pension in Question to Barré. The three Lords of the Treasury present, having all admitted that it was the Marquis of Rockingham's Act; and Frederic Montagu, one of the Number, not only justifying it, as a Remuneration merited by Barré for his long Services in that Assembly; but, adding, that all he regretted, was his not having signed a Warrant for a similar Sum, to another distinguished Servant of the Public, namely, Mr. Burke; Barré himself then rose. In a

Speech, well conceived, and delivered from the Treasury Bench, he detailed his military Sufferings and Renunciations, honorary, as well as pecuniary. The Post of Adjutant General, and the Government of Stirling Castle, both of which Offices had been conferred on him by the Crown, as a Reward for his Services under the immortal *Wolfe* in Canada; Posts, of which Officers were only deprived for military Offences;—he had sacrificed. "I was," said he, "an Enemy to "General Warrants. I voted against them "in this House, and for this *political* Transgression, I was dismissed, the very next "Day, from my *military* Employments."— "I should now have been an old Lieutenant "General. Had I been less a Friend to the "Liberties of the People, my Income would "have exceeded the Pension conferred on "me. If, after such Sacrifices, I do not "merit this Provision, let it be curtailed or "annihilated."

I confess that, though I felt no Predilection towards Barré, whose Manners, like his Figure, had in them something approaching to ferocious; yet, these Circumstances produced on my Mind, a Sentiment of Conviction or Approbation. But, Bamber

Gascoyne, who yielded to few Men in strong common Sense, which he expressed with Force and Freedom whenever he mixed in Debate; attacked both the Grant and the Administration, with great Vivacity. While he candidly admitted the Deserts of the Person on whom this Mark of royal and public Bounty had been conferred, he loudly inveighed against such Profusion on the Part of Men, who, while out of Office, had condemned the late Ministers for making similar Remunerations; and who, since they had been, themselves, in Power, though only for a few Weeks, had practised all the Faults that they previously reprehended. "The "People," exclaimed he, "will soon know "how to form a just Estimate of them. They "declare that their Predecessors have left "the Exchequer empty, and the Finances "exhausted. Yet they heap new Burthens "upon us. They accused the last Cabinet, "of Want of Unanimity. But, what is the "State of the present Cabinet? Is there any "Union of Opinion there? Yet, His Ma- "jesty's late Servants have not made the "slightest Attempt to impede their Mea- "sures or Negotiations. This Discord is "the more culpable and dangerous at the

"present Moment, when the combined Na-
"vies, superior to our own Fleet under Lord
"Howe's Command, are perhaps upon our
"Coasts. A Lord of the Treasury ex-
"presses his Concern, at not having signed a
"Warrant for a Pension to another Honor-
"able Member, whose Talents and Merits,
"I own to be most eminent. Why, Mr.
"Speaker, I have served the Public for
"twenty Years, and I have got no Pension!
"If such large pecuniary Compensations are
"to be given to every Individual of conspi-
"cuous Desert, where is the Financier who
"who can provide Funds adequate to the
"Demand?"

Under Accusations so severe, as well as just, the late Secretary of State could not remain silent, even had he so inclined. Having resigned his Office four Days previous to the Discussion then agitated, he had relapsed into a private Member of Parliament; and as such, had resumed his ancient Seat on the Opposition Side of the House, as well as his former *Costume*. Lord John Cavendish and Burke were likewise seated near him, as they had been previous to the Change of Administration. So soon did Fox find

himself restored to his former Position in that Assembly. Below him sate Lord North; and this Approximation, the first that took Place between them, led the Way to a closer Connexion in the Course of a short Space of Time. No Man could contemplate the late Premier, now reduced, like Fox, to a simple Individual; the one of whom, four Months earlier, occupied the first Place in the Cabinet, while the other had only just resigned the Seals of his Department; without making some Reflections on the Mutability of human Greatness. It might have afforded a salutary Lesson to Ambition, if any Lessons or Examples could serve as Checks on that Passion. Fox rising, and directing his Discourse not less to Bamber Gascoyne, than to Mr. Coke, admitted that the deceased Marquis, his Friend, had concurred in recommending the Pensions conferred on Lord Ashburton, and on Barré: but, he entreated the House to observe, that while Lord Shelburne's Adherents received such distinguishing Marks of the Bounty of the Crown; the Followers of Lord Rockingham, many of whom could plead equal Merit, and equal Want, remained without Provision of any kind.

After thus in some Measure removing the Odium attached to the Act, from that Party of which he formed a Member; he indirectly accused the new First Minister, of the most unworthy Duplicity, of the complete Abandonment of every political Principle on which he professed to have come into Office, and of an Intention to protect, as well as to shelter, East Indian Delinquents. Having next enumerated the great Points on which Lord Shelburne and he had differed in the Cabinet, among which he particularly specified the Question of conceding Independence to America; he concluded by heaping upon that Nobleman, Imputations more severe and humiliating, if possible, than the Charges with which, during many Years, he had profusely loaded Lord North. In the Warmth of his Indignation, he even ventured to predict the Probability, that with a View to maintain Possession of the Power so acquired, Lord Shelburne would not scruple to apply for Support, to the very Men, whom the House and the Nation, had recently driven from their official Situations. He unfortunately did not then foresee, that within seven Months from the Time when he was speaking, he should, himself, in order to re-

enter the Cabinet, form a Junction with the expelled Minister, whom he had so long held up to national Resentment, and towards whom he still professed the utmost Alienation. Such were the Inconsistencies and Contradictions, into which the Ambition of Fox betrayed him; and from which, all the Splendor of his Talents could not extricate his public Character, without eventually incurring Imputations, nearly as heavy as those which he lavished on his political Opponents.

I should find it difficult to convey any adequate Idea of this Debate, or rather, Discussion; which, during the far greater Part of the Time it lasted, had not the slightest Reference, nor made the smallest Allusion to the ostensible Subject before the House, Barré's Pension. In Defiance of Order, it was maintained for three or four Hours, in the Shape of a Conversation or Dialogue, carried on between Fox and General Conway exclusively; the Speaker and the Members present, who were very numerous, (especially if the advanced Season of the Year be considered;) acquiescing in a total Departure from the Question under Examina-

tion, from Motives of Curiosity. Never, perhaps, were political Disclosures more delicate and interesting, made within those Walls! Fox, in Violation of the Secrecy which his late Situation seemed to impose on him; anxious to justify his own violent and precipitate Conduct, by accusing Lord Shelburne of a Dereliction of Principles embraced by the whole Cabinet; lifted up the Veil from before it, and laid it in some Measure open to general View. There were certain Parts of his Justification, I own, that carried Conviction or Approbation with them: but, he by no means succeeded in persuading the Majority of his Hearers, that he had acted wisely, temperately, or from Necessity, in hastily throwing up his Office. We may safely pronounce that Disappointment, not Patriotism, animated him to that improvident Step, though he might really believe that Lord Shelburne did not mean to concede Independence to America.

In Reply to Mr. Gascoyne's Accusation, that the new Administration was not less divided than their Predecessors, Fox observed, that he had blamed Lord North for having remained in Place, after he found himself at

the Head of distracted Councils. "As soon "as I discovered," said he, "that I stood in "a similar Situation, I could not remain a "Member of the Cabinet, without commit- "ting an Act of Treachery to my Country, "when Measures, dangerous, if not fatal, "were meditated."——"I declare, that I "have only resigned, because I believe a "new System is about to be adopted; or "rather, the ancient System revived. I feel "it indispensable to come forward, to ring "the Alarum Bell, and to warn the Country "that the old System is to be pursued; pro- "bably, with *the former Men;* or, indeed, "with any Men that can be found for the "Purpose."—"The *Principles* of the late "Ministry are now in the Cabinet; and the "next Thing that I expect, is to see *the late* "*Ministers themselves* replaced in Office."— "All that is great and good in the Kingdom, "has approved my Retreat. My noble "Friend, (Lord John Cavendish,) has like- "wise given in his Resignation; and the "Public will infer, that when such a Charac- "ter has quitted the Cabinet, no Man of "Character ought to remain in it."—"I "now retire with a few select Friends, to a "strong Hold, where I confidently expect

" all my old Companions to join me, some " sooner, and some later, in the Day."—" On " the Demise of the Marquis of Rocking- " ham, all Men's Eyes were directed to the " Duke of Portland. But, instead of that " noble Person, the Earl of Shelburne has " been selected." Then, having inveighed against the new first Lord of the Treasury, as the Reverse of his Predecessor; as a Nobleman who neither regarded Promises, nor Engagements, nor Systems, nor Principles, provided that by abandoning or violating them, he could acquire and retain Power; " I doubt not," added he, " that in Order " to secure himself in Office, he will have " Recourse to every Means that Corruption " can procure. And I expect that he will " shortly be joined by *those very Men, whom* " *the House has recently precipitated from* " *their Seats.*" Yet, after having thus repeatedly denounced the late Ministers, and warned the Country of the impending Danger from their being again taken into Power; by one of those Contradictions common to Fox, he concluded with declaring, that " as " to any Apprehensions of letting in the old " Administration, he entertained none; be- " cause the House of Commons would not

" suffer it; the People would not suffer it; " indeed, no Man would be bold enough to " attempt it."

The Members of the new Administration diverged on this Occasion, in widely different Lines. General Conway, with the " undetermined Discretion" imputed to him by " Junius," contented himself by endeavouring to justify his own Line of Conduct, and that of the Cabinet Ministers who had declined to imitate the Example of Fox; which he did, rather with Caution and Delicacy, than with any Asperity or Acrimony. With solemn Protestations he declared, that he had not been able to discover the slightest Intention on the Part of the new First Minister, to abandon the Principles upon which the Administration was originally constituted. Those Principles he recapitulated, one by one; the first and most essential of which, forming the Basis of all their Measures or Deliberations, was the Concession of unconditional Independence to America, as the leading Step to Peace. Whenever he should find any Ground for Suspicion, that the Earl of Shelburne designed to adopt another System, he protested that he would not remain for a Day,

or for an Hour, in the Cabinet. He lamented the recent Division and Secession in His Majesty's Councils, as well as the Loss of Ability sustained by Fox's Resignation. Yet he saw no Reason to apprehend that the Successor of the noble Marquis deceased, would fail to pursue the true Interests of his Country. Throughout every Part of Conway's Speech, a Desire to avoid coming to Extremities with Fox, was strongly marked. But, Pitt, now seated on the Treasury Bench, and on the Point of accepting the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, observing none of these personal Managements; boldly accused the late Secretary of State with sacrificing his Country, to his Ambition, his Interest, or his Enmities: charged him as being at Variance, not with Principles or Measures, but, with Men; and claimed the Support of the House no longer than he should maintain that System, on which the late Administration had been driven from Power.

"The Right Honorable Secretary assures "us," said he, "that it was with the sole View "of preventing Dissensions in the Cabinet, he "retired from Office. I believe him, because "he solemnly declares it. Otherwise I should

" have attributed his Resignation, to a *Baulk* " *in struggling for Power.* If, however, he " so much disliked Lord Shelburne's politi- " cal Principles or Opinions, why did he ever " consent to act with that Nobleman, as a " Colleague? And if he only *suspected* Lord " Shelburne of feeling averse to the Mea- " sures which he thought necessary to be " adopted; it was his Duty to have called a " Cabinet Council, and there to have *ascer-* " *tained* the Fact, before he took the hasty " Resolution of throwing up his Employ- " ment. I can assure him that I entertain " no such Suspicions. If I did, no Man " would be more averse to supporting the " present Ministry than myself. I am a " determined Enemy to the late ruinous " System; and if I should act in any Capa- " city under the Administration of the pre- " sent Day, whenever I see Things going on " wrong, I will first endeavour to set them " right.—Should I fail in the Attempt, then, " and not before, I will resign." Perhaps, in no Transaction of their whole political Lives, was the Distinction between Fox and Pitt more strikingly exhibited, than in the Resignation of the former, and the Acceptance of Office by the latter, in July, 1782.

The Judgment, Patience, and Self-command of Pitt, enabled him at three and twenty, to mount over Fox's Shoulders, to enter the Cabinet, and in less than Eighteen Months to fill Lord Shelburne's vacant Place, which he held for seventeen Years; while his Antagonist, though he twice forced his Way into the Councils of the Sovereign, knew not how to maintain himself in that Elevation.

Lord John Cavendish, though he had recently filled so high an Office in Administration, and though he had resigned, like Fox; yet took little Part in the Debate relative to Barré's Pension. He however confirmed the late Secretary's Declaration to a certain Degree, respecting Lord Shelburne's Intentions as to America: but, he appeared to act only on Belief, not on Proof. Indeed, he always seemed to be either propelled or restrained at Pleasure by Fox, who held Lord John constantly before him, as a political Screen. Burke, however, made ample Amends for the Defect of Communication on the Part of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer; and in Defiance of the Impatience manifested by the House, inveighed with equal Violence and Indecorum, against

the new First Lord of the Treasury, whom he depictured as unworthy of the national Confidence. "I invoke Heaven and Earth," exclaimed he, "to witness, that I fully be- "lieve the present Ministry will prove infi- "nitely worse than that of the noble Lord, "who has been so lately reprobated and "driven from Employment!" After treating Conway with great Severity of Animadversion, for trusting to Lord Shelburne's Assurances or Professions; and comparing the General to the little *Red Riding Hood* in Æsop, who mistook a Wolf for her Grandmother; Burke demanded, "Whether if he "had lived in the Time of Cicero, he would "have taken *Catiline* for his Colleague in "the Office of Consul, after he had heard "his Guilt clearly demonstrated by that "illustrious Orator? Would he become a "Co-Partner with *Borgia* in his political "Schemes, after reading of his nefarious "Principles in Machiavel?"—"If the Earl of "Shelburne," added he, "be not a Catiline "or a Borgia in Morals, it must be solely "ascribed to the Superiority of his Under- "standing." These Invectives, which only proved the Extent of Burke's Enmity, and of his Regret at quitting the Pay Office,

made little Impression on his Hearers. Lee, who had filled the Situation of Solicitor General under the late Administration, but, who had quitted his Employment at the same Time with the other Adherents of the deceased Marquis;—a Man of strong intellectual Parts, though of coarse Manners, and who never hesitated to clothe his Ideas in the coarsest Language; may be said to have terminated this curious and interesting Conversation. His indecorous Abuse of the new First Minister, though couched in a more homely Garb, and not illustrated by any classical or historical Allusions, exceeded in Violence even the Declamation of Burke. Like him, Lee levelled his Reflections and Accusations, not against the Ability or Talents of the Earl, but, against his Principles of political and moral Action. He fully admitted that Nobleman's external Accomplishments, specious Talents, and comprehensive Information. Mr. Coke having withdrawn his Motion on Barré's Pension, the House broke up: but, from that Evening, the Country and Parliament beheld for the first Time, two Individuals, who might hitherto be said to have fought under the same Standard, openly opposed to each

other; and who were destined never more, during their Lives, under any Change of Circumstances, to act in political Union. In Fact, from this Period, though Lord North remained ostensibly at the Head of one great Party, and though Lord Shelburne, who occupied the Place of First Minister, was nominally the Chief of another; yet they ceased to be considered as the principal Personages in the State. Pitt and Fox attracting far more Attention, were regarded by the Nation at large, no less than by Parliament, as rival Candidates for the future Government of the Country.

[10th and 11th July.] Lord Shelburne, when speaking in the House of Peers, on the Subject of the Pension granted to Barré, which excited the greatest Comment; endeavoured to shift the Origin, and consequently the Odium of having conferred it, on Lord Rockingham. In this Attempt he proved, however, eminently unfortunate, as his Assertions on the Subject, produced the most unqualified Contradiction from the Connexions or Adherents of the deceased Marquis. Burke and Fox, both, denied it in the strongest Terms; calling at the same

Time on Lord John Cavendish, to confirm their Declarations on the Point. His Testimony, which was very vague, added little Force to their previous Protestations: but, it was natural to suppose that the Proposition must have originated with Lord Shelburne, the Patron, Friend, and Protector of Barré. Yet, that Nobleman, when addressing the House of Peers, not only asserted that the deceased Marquis first proposed the Idea; but, added, that he had in his Possession a Letter from Lord Rockingham on the Subject, completely proving his Assertion. The new First Minister, in a long, able, and laboured Address, endeavoured likewise to impress his Audience with a Conviction, that Fox, in his Secession from the Cabinet, could have had no other Motive, except disappointed Ambition and Rivality. Fox, however, not only treated the Insinuation with indignant Contempt, and a positive Denial, in the House of Commons, on the subsequent Day: He likewise, by the Mouth of the Earl of Derby, in the Upper House, where Lord Shelburne was present, declared it "to be contrary to Fact, and a direct Deviation from the Truth." Not satisfied with so public a Contradiction, Lord Derby

called on the other Members of Administration who were in their Places, to state their personal Information, and to give Evidence on the Point. Thus compelled, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Keppel rose, and admitted that the late Secretary of State had differed in Sentiment from Lord Shelburne on Subjects of great Importance, *previous to Lord Rockingham's Decease.* They likewise added, that in Consequence of finding himself in a Minority on the Matter then agitated in the Cabinet, Fox had declared his Intention to resign his Office.

After so clear and distinct a Testimony, it became impossible to doubt or to deny the Fact; especially as neither Lord Camden, nor Lord Ashburton, who were both in the House at the Time, disputed the Authenticity of the two noble Witnesses. However painful or humiliating these Contradictions must have been, which impeached Lord Shelburne's personal Veracity, equally as a Man, and as a Minister; he nevertheless submitted to them, without making any further Effort to justify himself in the Opinion of the Public: and the Circumstances that attended the Prorogation of Parliament,

seemed to indicate his Impatience under the Deliberations of that Assembly, as well as his Apprehensions of the Impression made on many Individuals, by Fox's Accusations. Lord Shelburne's Courage, which was unquestionable, had been proved in the Duel that he fought with Colonel Fullerton. It became therefore impossible to suppose, that he would have tamely endured such Imputations on his private Character, if he had possessed the Means of effectually repelling or disproving them. Even on the Subject of granting American Independence, there appeared so much Ambiguity, if not Tergiversation and Contradiction in all his Parliamentary Speeches, as greatly tended to persuade Mankind, that Fox's Allegations respecting Lord Shelburne's Disinclination to concede the Point, must have had a Foundation in Truth. The very Principle on which he avowed, when addressing the House of Peers, that he retained his Place in the Councils of the Crown, seemed scarcely compatible with strict Regard to political Rectitude. For, he declared in the plainest Language, that he was not only adverse in his own Judgment, to acknowledging the Independence of the thirteen Colo-

nies; but, that whenever such a Recognition should be extorted from this Country, "The "Sun of British Glory would have set." Yet in the same Moment he admitted, that as the Majority of the Rockingham Cabinet were of an opposite Opinion, he should acquiesce in the Measure; which Measure, though destructive, as he conceived, to Great Britain, he was now ready, in his new Capacity, if Parliament approved it, to carry into Execution.

No political Imputation, affixed on Lord North, had operated with more Force in his Disfavor, on the Minds of the Public, than the Assertion of his Enemies, that he prosecuted the American War in Opposition to his own Conviction, from a Love of Place, or from unworthy Subservience to the Royal Will. But, to a similar Charge, the new First Minister appeared in some Measure voluntarily to subject himself. He might however plead, as he did in Fact assert, when addressing the House of Peers, that, "however dreadful the impending Disaster "would prove, as he believed, to his Coun- "try; however much he deprecated and de- "plored it, and whatever Efforts he had

"made to prevent it; yet, that an overpower-
"ing and insurmountable Necessity com-
"pelled him to become the Agent for car-
"rying into Effect so destructive a Mea-
"sure." He even succeeded, as we know, in surmounting the King's Repugnance to the final Separation of America from the British Empire. Fox, therefore, if he had not been impelled by Animosity to Lord Shelburne, and by a Determination not to remain in the Cabinet, unless the Duke of Portland was placed at the Head of Administration, might have continued in Office, without abandoning any Principle. He preferred a more violent Alternative. His Friends, as well as the daily Newspapers attached to his Party, joined in accusing the new First Minister of having undermined Lord Rockingham in the Royal Esteem, by the most unworthy Arts, in order to get Possession of his Office: while political Caricatures, exhibited in the Shops of the Metropolis, represented Lord Shelburne habited as *Guy Faux*, so notorious for the Part that was assigned him in the "Gunpowder Plot," under James the First; holding a dark Lanthorn in his Hand, advancing under cover of the Night, to blow up the Treasury.

Such were the Circumstances under which commenced that Nobleman's Administration. Even down to the last Moment that the House of Commons remained sitting, Burke, among the querulous Lamentations that he uttered, on being so suddenly ejected from his Office of Paymaster of the Forces; —a Misfortune which seemed deeply to affect him;—mingled the loudest Exclamations against the Falsity and Defect of Principle in the First Minister. His *Philippic* was cut short in the Middle, by the Arrival of Sir Francis Molineux, as Usher of the Black Rod, sent to summon the Attendance of the Members, at the Bar of the House of Lords; where the King, already seated on the Throne, was ready to prorogue the Parliament. A singular Fact, arising out of the late Reforms, accompanied this Ceremony. Among the Retrenchments of the Royal Household and Dignity, which Burke's Bill had made, was included, as has been already observed, the Suppression of the Jewel Office; the Business of which Department was principally conducted by Mr. William Egerton, a Relation of the Duke of Bridgewater, and a Member of the House of Commons. The Bill having so recently passed

into a Law, no new official Regulation had as yet been adopted, for the Removal or Transportation of the Paraphernalia of the Crown. On the Occasion of His Majesty going to Westminster, to prorogue the two Houses, it became indispensable to convey thither the Crown and Sceptre, together with various other Articles of State. The Master of the Jewel Office being suppressed, in whose Department these Dispositions previously lay; Application was made both to the Lord Steward, and to the Lord Chamberlain, praying that Orders might be issued to the Keeper of the Jewels in the Tower, for bringing them to Westminster on the Day of the Prorogation. But, those great Officers of State, not conceiving themselves to possess a Power of Interference, Directions were at length dispatched for the Purpose, from the Home Secretary of State's Office. After some Consultation held, relative to the safest Mode of conveying the Royal Ornaments; none of the King's Carriages being sent to receive them, Application was next made to the Magistrates at Bow-Street, who detached four or five stout Agents of the Police, for their Protection. Two Hackney Coaches being provided, in

which the various Articles were placed; with a view to render the Transportation of them more private, the Procession set out circuitously from the Tower, by the New Road; entering London again at Portland-Street, and so proceeded down to Westminster. The Blinds were kept up the whole Way; and after the Prorogation, they returned by the same Road, without experiencing any Accident. But, it is unquestionable, that eight or ten desperate Fellows, had they been apprized of the Circumstance, might have easily overpowered the Persons employed, and have carried off the Jewels. The memorable Enterprize of Colonel Blood, under Charles the Second, who got hold of the Crown and Sceptre, though he ultimately failed in retaining Possession of them, was in Fact, a far more hazardous Undertaking; as, in Order to execute it, he lay under the Necessity of entering the Tower: whereas, in the present Instance, the Attempt might have been made in the Street, or in the New Road. Any Accident of the Kind, had it taken Place, would necessarily have thrown some Degree of Ridicule, as well as of Blame, on a System of

Economy, productive of such Consequences in its Outset.

Among the interesting Features of the Session of Parliament before us, which, on Account of a Degree of Mystery or Ambiguity accompanying them, greatly exercised national Curiosity; may be reckoned the Proceedings commenced against Sir Thomas Rumbold. I say, commenced, because they never were prosecuted to any Consummation. This Gentleman returned, as has been already mentioned, from Madras, early in 1781, under Imputations the most injurious to his Fame. He was accused of having, while Governor of that important Settlement, not only amassed by every unbecoming Means, an immense Fortune; but, of first provoking a War with Hyder Ally, by Acts of imprudent Aggression, and then of abandoning the Country entrusted to his Care, with pusillanimous or interested Precipitation. These Charges, which were solemnly brought against him by Mr. Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, as Chairman of the Secret Committee appointed by the House of Commons, to enquire into the

Causes of the War in the Carnatic, produced a deep Impression on the public Mind. We have already seen the Steps which were immediately adopted by the Legislature, to tie up and impound Sir Thomas's Person, as well as his Fortune. But, in Addition to these Precautions, a Bill for inflicting on him Pains and Penalties, as a Man who had been guilty of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, was introduced by Mr. Dundas himself.

Such a Measure, which excited general Approbation, appeared to be worthy the national Justice, exerted in punishing a great public Culprit. The Line of active and ambitious Policy pursued by Hastings, when Governor-General of Bengal, might possibly have led to many Misfortunes, and might, perhaps, merit Condemnation. But, his Motives were admitted, even by his Enemies, to have been splendid and elevated, however pernicious, as they asserted, in their Operation or Consequences. The Mal-Administration of Rumbold, on the contrary, seemed only directed to sordid and selfish Purposes. Every Party, it was therefore hoped, would concur in carrying through

such a Bill; and though Mr. Dundas, after the Termination of Lord North's Ministry, no longer acted in an official Situation, yet, in his Capacity of Chairman of "the Secret Committee," he spoke from a great Eminence, and might expect universal Support. Least of all, it was supposed, could the Rockingham Party, who had just come into Power, who professed to call to a severe Account, all such as had plundered or injured the Country, and who loudly demanded an Enquiry into East-India Delinquencies, attempt to throw Obstacles in the Path of Justice. Under these Circumstances, all Men expected, and most Men hoped, that the Bill in Question would have speedily found its Way through the House of Commons, and have finally passed into a Law. The Fact, nevertheless, turned out completely otherwise. Meanwhile the Session advanced: a full Attendance, as Mr. Dundas asserted and complained, could not be procured: the House was frequently counted out; and whether from the Operation of that Cause, or from any other Reason more concealed, no rapid Progress was made in the Business. Sir Thomas Rumbold's Person and Property remained, it is

true, sequestered or restrained; but, beyond that temporary Interposition, no permanent Punishment was inflicted on him.

Men who had anticipated much more vigorous and speedy, as well as decisive Proceedings, and who beheld the supposed Criminal thus elude or escape, as it were, the Grasp of national Pursuit; reasoned and commented on the Fact. Malignity or Credulity invented Reasons for whatever appeared inexplicable throughout the Transaction. Secret Springs were asserted to have been touched, which had arrested or paralyzed the Exertions of the Prosecutor. Time, Place, and Circumstances, were even particularized; all which, though perhaps untrue or imaginary, seemed nevertheless, not only in themselves, possible, but, so well fabricated, and so minutely detailed, as to appear highly probable. I shall, however, relate only such Facts as are unquestionably authentic.

Rumbold, though a Man of low Extraction, and of a mean Education, did not by any means want Activity, Judgment, or Talents. I knew him well. In his Person he

was well made and handsome; but, his Features, though regular and manly, contained nothing in them prepossessing. His successful Exertions, while Governor of Madras, in reducing Pondicherry, had elevated him to the Dignity of a Baronet. On his Arrival in England, aware of the Storm that impended over him, he immediately contrived to get into Parliament; and he soon afterwards brought his eldest Son into the House of Commons; by which Means he came into daily Collision and Communication with those, who might either injure, or could defend him. That he was not idle, is certain; and he attempted in his Place, as a Member of the House, to justify himself from the Charges exhibited against him, with some Ability. In addition however to these personal Efforts, he soon found Means to conciliate a Friend, who was supposed to have laboured efficaciously towards his Extrication.

That Friend, I mean, Mr. Rigby, the late Paymaster of the Forces, having enjoyed during a great number of Years, one of the most profitable Places under the Crown, without any Colleague, had acquired a large

Fortune. But, his luxurious and expensive Manner of living in Town; his magnificent Seat at Mistley Hall in Essex, where he maintained a splendid Establishment of every kind; when added to his Purchases of landed Property, had exhausted even Means so vast, and left him, as it were, necessitous in the midst of Wealth. In this Situation of his Affairs, the sudden Termination of Lord North's Administration, not only deprived him of his Employment; but, in Consequence of the System of Reform adopted by the new Ministers, and in particular from the Regulations introduced by Burke, his Successor in the Pay-Office, which compelled him to pay into the Exchequer, the immense Balances of public Money remaining in his Hands; Rigby became involved in great pecuniary Embarrassments. These Balances having been vested by him in Mortgages, or in other Securities; and the public Funds suffering then under great Depression, it could not be in Fact an easy Matter, to find the Means of answering promptly the Demands made upon him by Government, for Repayment.

Rumbold had brought with him from the

East, as Verres did from Sicily, very ample Resources, which he well knew how to use, in Time of Need, for his own Protection; and Rigby's Situation, which was generally understood, might render a Loan of Money peculiarly convenient. That Gentleman having no Children, his Sister's Son was destined to inherit his Name and Property. Rumbold had a Daughter, whose Age and Accomplishments qualified her to be united to him in Marriage. The Alliance being agreed on, it was supposed that by the secret Articles, the East India Governor advanced to his Friend, such a Sum, as greatly facilitated those Payments of the public Money, which he was necessitated to furnish without Delay. After entering into so close a Connexion, cemented by such binding Ties, it might be esteemed natural, and even venial, that Rigby should lend his reciprocal Aid to Sir Thomas Rumbold. Though no longer Paymaster of the Forces, Rigby still possessed great Capacities of being useful; and he was not supposed to lie under the Dominion of any fastidious Scruples. Above all, his intimate Friendship with Mr. Dundas, who took the lead in the Parliamentary Prosecution instituted against Rumbold,

might enable Rigby to find Means and Opportunities of diminishing those Prejudices, or softening those Impressions, that operated most injuriously against the accused Person. No Proof has been indeed ever produced, that improper Means were used to effect this Object; nor do I believe that any such were employed: but, the Public being in Possession of certain Facts, and observing that the Proceedings so vigorously begun in Parliament against Rumbold, seemed unaccountably to languish, and eventually to expire towards the Close of the Session of 1783, though they were nominally renewed when the House met in the subsequent Month of December;—inferred, perhaps very unjustly, that there must exist some latent Cause, which had blunted the Edge of the Weapon. Rumbold, it is certain, was finally extricated; but, whether the ostensible Reasons assigned for deferring the Bill of Pains and Penalties, formed the only Circumstances that conduced to his Escape; or, whether more efficacious and cogent Arguments of any kind were used, must always remain Matter of Conjecture and Assertion, like many other obscure Points of biographical History.

[15th—31st of July.] The Session being now terminated, Lord Shelburne might be regarded as secure in the Possession of his newly acquired Power, at least for several Months. During that Interval, Means, it was naturally imagined, could easily be discovered, of cementing and confirming the Ministry. Negotiations for Peace were already begun with America, which, if successful, it was probable, must eventually lead to a Treaty with our European Enemies. The Talents of the first Lord of the Treasury, were considered as eminently adapted to diplomatic Discussions; in the Conduct of which, his enlarged Knowledge of the foreign Interests of Great Britain, and his minute Acquaintance with the Continental Courts, enabled him, it was said, to act at once with Vigor and Perspicuity. If he had lost the Abilities of Fox and Burke in the House of Commons, he had, on the other Hand, secured and attached to him two Men, no less able in different Ways; Pitt, and Dundas. He moreover possessed the Confidence of the Sovereign; who, as all Men supposed, would, from Necessity, if not from Inclination, support a Minister preferred by himself to his present Office.

Lord North might even, it was hoped, feel a far stronger Disposition to join the actual Administration, whenever Parliament should meet again, than to unite with the Rockingham Party, his inveterate Enemies. Under this Aspect of public Affairs, though Lord Shelburne neither stood as high in the national Opinion, for severe Integrity and Probity, as his deceased Predecessor, the Marquis of Rockingham, had done; nor could command that Parliamentary Strength, which Lord North still in some Measure influenced or led; yet many Persons considered his Tenure of Office as by no Means precarious, and augured well of its Duration.

Burke's Invectives against the First Minister, which continued to the last Instant that the Forms of Parliament permitted, were nevertheless suspended while the Prorogation put an End to the Business of the House of Commons. However violent he might be in his Place, as a Member of the Legislature, Burke never carried his Complaints to the People. But, Fox, who acted no less as a Demagogue, than as the Representative of Westminster; and who always seemed to take the Gracchi for his Model; anxious to

appeal from his late Dismission by the King, to the popular Suffrage, convoked his Constituents, in order to lay before them the Reasons for his Resignation. They met, almost immediately after the Session closed, in Westminster Hall, where he reiterated all the Heads of Accusation against Lord Shelburne, which he had already detailed a few Days before, in the House of Commons: but, the general Impression, even among that Audience, which heard him with Partiality, seemed nevertheless to be, that personal Ambition and Rivality, more than real Principle or Patriotism, had regulated his Conduct. The specious Pretence under which the Meeting was assembled, namely, that of petitioning the Crown for a more equal Representation of the People; produced however, as might have been expected, an unanimous Assent. He then dismissed them till the ensuing Winter.

[August.] Sir Samuel Hood, whom the victorious Admiral in the West Indies, detached a few Days after the Defeat of de Grasse, with several Vessels, in Pursuit of the flying Enemy; having come up with some of them, captured two more French

Line of Battle Ships, as well as two Frigates, off the East End of the Island of St. Domingo. Though these eminent naval Advantages secured Jamaica from Invasion or Attack, yet, far from regaining any of our insular Possessions in that Quarter of the Globe, on the contrary, such was our State of Exhausture, that Spain fitted out an Expedition against the Bahama Islands, which she easily reduced to her Obedience. But, the Attention of the Capital and the Nation became more powerfully, as well as painfully attracted, by the Catastrophe of the "Royal George," which took Place about the same Time, than by the Loss of any Trans-Atlantic Settlements. This Ship, the Pride and Ornament of the British Navy, to the Disgrace of a Nation considered as superior to every other People in nautical Skill, disappeared in an Instant, on the 29th of August, as is well known, at Spithead; carrying with her to the Bottom, an English Admiral, and, as it was computed, nearly a thousand Persons of both Sexes. I was well acquainted with Kempenfeldt, one of the most able, as well as scientific Officers in the British naval Service. It is impossible, even at this Distance of Time, to reflect on

such an Event, which resulted from the injudicious or careless Manner of laying down the "Royal George," without Amazement as well as Horror. The Gloom and Consternation, diffused by the Intelligence over the Metropolis, are hardly to be conceived; and the Incredibility of the Fact encreased the Sense of the Disaster. No parallel Circumstance is to be found in our naval Annals: probably not in those of any other European Nation. In a superstitious Age, it would, no doubt, have been considered as ominous of the greatest national, or Royal Misfortunes. That Tempests, Fire, or Rocks and Quicksands, should swallow up and destroy the proudest Works of human Art, is natural; often, unavoidable. When Sir Cloudesley Shovel, under the Reign of Queen Anne, perished, together with his Ship and all his Crew, wrecked on the Scilly Islands; or when the "Victory," under George the Second, foundered in the Race of Alderney, with Admiral Balchen, and eleven hundred Persons on board:—such Calamities were in the Order of Things, however much to be deplored. But, in the present Instance, only an utter Disregard to common prudential Precautions, could have

produced an Event so unprecedented. Her very *Name*, and her Superiority in Size, as well as in Strength, to every other Ship in the Service, she carrying a hundred Guns; added to the Bitterness of the Reflections which her Loss occasioned throughout the Kingdom. Those who recollect that the "Queen Charlotte," a Man of War of the first Rate, carrying one hundred and ten Guns, with an Admiral's Flag, was consumed by somewhat similar Negligence, together with near seven hundred of her Crew, on the 17th of March, 1800, near the Port of Leghorn; may find ample Reason for Speculation, on the Singularity of two such disastrous Events having taken Place within eighteen Years of each other, under the same Reign.

[September.] The melancholy Impression made by the Catastrophe just related, became, if possible, still more strongly excited immediately afterwards, by other naval Misfortunes equally afflicting in their Nature. If the Fact of the "Royal George" going down at her Anchors, when no Danger was even apprehended, stands without Precedent in our maritime Records; the Fatality which

seemed to pursue the Ships of the Line that had been captured by Rodney on the 12th of April, as well as most of our own Men of War, accompanying the French Prizes, on their Return from the West Indies; can scarcely be equalled in modern History. The Chain of Shipwrecks and adverse Events, that attended Commodore Anson's Expedition round Cape Horn, under the late Reign, which so greatly reduced the Numbers of his Squadron; even the Disasters, so pathetically related in the same Work, that ruined the Fleet of the Spanish Admiral Pizarro, nearly in the same Latitudes, and at the same Time;—those Calamities, however extraordinary and tragical they appear, yet sink on a Comparison with the Destruction experienced by our devoted Ships, in 1782, when crossing the Atlantic. Captain Inglefield has commemorated the Fate of the "Centaur," as well as his own astonishing Escape, when she foundered with her Officers and Crew. That affecting Narrative may serve as too faithful a Picture of the Misfortunes experienced by the other Vessels. The "Ramillies," a Name proverbially unfortunate in the English Navy, was set on Fire, when it became impossible any

longer either to navigate, or to preserve her. One of the French Ships of the Line, the "Hector," seemed to be reserved for more severe Trials of every kind; in the Course of which, all that human Fortitude, Skill, and Courage, when combined, could Effect, was performed by our Officers and Seamen. They were, almost miraculously, saved, though the "Hector" herself perished.

Over the closing Scene of the "Ville de "Paris," as well as over the Fate of the "Glorieux," an impenetrable Curtain is drawn. It is certain that the last named Vessel, a French seventy-four Gun Ship, commanded by the Honorable Captain Cadogan, disappeared during the Middle Watch, on the Night of the 17th or 18th of September, after firing many Signals of Distress. Her Lights had been visible till that Time; but, when Day appeared, no Vestiges of her were discovered, and she doubtless foundered during the Storm. Nor was de Grasse's Ship, originally purchased with so vast an Effusion of Blood, and herself the Pride of the French Navy, ever destined to reach an English Port. The hasty Repairs

given her at Jamaica, could only be slight or partial; and it was confidently asserted, that during the Gale of Wind which proved so fatal, her Guns breaking loose, tore open her Side, and accelerated, if they did not cause, her final Destruction. Tidings of her were long expected, and the Nation continued to nourish Hopes for many Months, of her Re-appearance. About this Time, while her Fate still remained problematical, a Man was brought to the Admiralty, and there examined, who had been taken up at Sea, nearly senseless and extenuated; tied to, or floating on a Hen-coop. He asserted, and his Testimony appeared to be entitled to Credit; that he served on board the "Ville de Paris," as a common Sailor, at the Moment when she foundered. But, few, or no Particulars relative to the Event itself, could be extracted from this Survivor; who, as I was assured by a Flag Officer that questioned him, possessed neither Faculties nor Memory to recount almost any Circumstance, except the Fact of her Loss. Admiral Graves, who commanded the Fleet, was censured by the popular Voice, for having stood some Degrees more to the Northward, in returning Home across the

Atlantic, at that Season, than he needed to have done; or than he was warranted in doing by Lord Rodney's Orders. But, this Accusation may possibly have been more severe than just; though I think I have heard Lord Rodney himself state the Circumstance, and express his Conviction of the injurious Consequences that resulted from navigating in too high a Latitude, during a Time of Equinoctial Gales.

Happily, the Gloom which these melancholy Events diffused, was speedily relieved and dissipated, by Transactions of the most exhilarating Nature. Minorca, it is true, had surrendered early in the Summer: but, Gibraltar, which Fortress still resisted every Attack, attracted, no less from the prodigious Means employed for its Reduction by the Enemy, than from the Energy and Activity exerted in its Defence, the Attention of all Europe. The two most memorable Sieges which are recorded in modern History; namely, that of Antwerp, undertaken by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, under Philip the Second, in the sixteenth Century; and that of Ostend, begun

by the Spanish General, Spinola, only a few Years later; however illustrious they have each been rendered from the long protracted Resistance made by the besieged, were both finally crowned with Success. Gibraltar, on the contrary, repelled the Assailants in the most brilliant Manner. All the Means that human Art, Expence, and Force, could collect or combine, by Land, as well as by Sea, were accumulated under its Walls: while the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, unconscious of the lamentable Destiny preparing for themselves in the Womb of Time, seemed to vie in their Efforts to accelerate its Fall. Charles the Third, who then reigned in Spain, already anticipated the Completion of an Event, which, as he justly conceived, would render his Name and Reign immortal in the Spanish Annals. Under the same fallacious Expectation, Louis the Sixteenth dispatched his youngest Brother, Count d'Artois, to assist at its Surrender: while the Barbary Powers, though by no Means indifferent, or uninterested Spectators of this great Contest, and though they are said to have put up Prayers in all their Mosques for our Suc-

cess, yet quietly expected the Result, without making the smallest Effort in our Favor.

If Lord Rodney acquired so much personal Glory by his Victory over de Grasse, General Eliott did not establish a less brilliant Reputation, by his Repulse and Defeat of the Spanish floating Batteries, on the 13th of September, of the same Year. The American War, which at Saratoga, and at York Town, displayed Spectacles so humiliating to the British Arms, terminated with the most splendid Triumphs over our European Enemies; and this Portion of the Reign of George the Third, (like the second Punic War in Antiquity,) exhibits, between 1777 and 1782, the greatest Reverses of adverse, and of prosperous Fortune. While we lost so vast an Empire beyond the Atlantic, we humbled with one Hand, the French naval Force in the West Indies; annihilating with the other, the combined Efforts of France and Spain, which were concentered for the Subjugation of a distant Garrison, apparently left to its own Capacities of Defence, and cut off from the obvious Means of Relief. But, even after the

Destruction of the Spanish Vessels and Batteries, it seemed still impossible to throw into Gibraltar, timely Supplies of Ammunition, competent to recruit the Expenditure that had taken Place during the Siege. Provisions, Fuel, Clothing, as well as many other essential or indispensable Articles, could only be sent out from England. Near fifty French and Spanish Ships of the Line, which occupied the Bay of Gibraltar, appeared to set at Defiance all Approach. Notwithstanding these apparently insuperable Obstacles, the Attempt succeeded, in Opposition to every Impediment.

[October,] So low had sunk the numerical naval Force of Great Britain at this Period, as compared with the Strength of the Enemy, that the utmost Exertions of the Admiralty, under the new Administration, could only equip and send to Sea, thirty-four Sail of the Line; which Fleet did not quit Spithead, till nearly the Day on which General Eliott had already repulsed and burnt the floating Batteries, under the Walls of the besieged Fortress. Yet, never was the real Superiority of our Navy in Skill and Science, more evidently

demonstrated, than in successfully throwing Succours into a Place invested by Sea and Land, without committing any Event to hazard, or affording to Adversaries so numerous, the slightest Advantage. Lord Howe, who conducted and commanded the whole Enterprize, manifested such a Combination of Tactics and of Ability in his Manœuvres, as place his Name deservedly high in the Annals of his Country. If the Reputation that he attained on this Occasion, seems less brilliant than the Fame acquired by Rodney in vanquishing de Grasse, it was not on that Account less permanent or solid. Without engaging, he defied the combined Fleets; offered Battle, but did not seek it; effected every Object of the Expedition, by relieving Gibraltar, and then retreated; followed indeed by the Enemy, but, not attacked. They made, it is true, a shew of fighting, but, never ventured to come to close Action. And with such Contempt did Lord Howe treat the Cannonade commenced by the Van, composed of French Ships under La Motte Piquet; that having ordered all his Men on board the "Victory," to lie down flat on the Deck, in order that their Lives might not be needlessly exposed,

he disdained to return a single Shot against such cautious or timid Opponents.

Pigot, who had succeeded to Rodney in the West Indies, through the Favor of Fox, in Defiance of public Opinion, by no means emulated his Predecessor's Example of Activity and Enterprize. Though placed at the head of six and forty Sail of the Line, sustained by the Reputation of a great Victory, he neither effected nor attempted any Object, during more than six Months that he held the Command. Such Inactivity seemed to reproach the Ministry who had sent him thither, and excited severe Animadversions on Fox. In the East Indies, and there only, where Sir Edward Hughes was opposed to Suffrein, France still maintained the Contest on the Water. That active and intrepid Officer last named, the most able of any employed by Louis the Sixteenth during the whole Progress of the War, made repeated, though ineffectual Efforts, for compelling the English Squadron to abandon the Coast of Coromandel.

[November.] While Lord Howe thus placed in Security, the most brilliant foreign Posses-

sion belonging to the British Crown in Europe; Negotiations of a pacific Nature were carrying on at Paris, both with America, and with the other coalesced Powers. The provisional Articles concluded with the revolted Colonies; which were first signed, did not indeed demand either any considerable Length of Time, or superior diplomatic Talents, in order to conduct them to a prosperous Termination; where almost every possible Concession was made on the Part of England, merely to obtain from America a Cessation of Hostilities. Not only their Independence was recognized in the most explicit Terms:—Territory, Rivers, Lakes, Commerce, Islands, Ports and fortified Places, Indian Allies, Loyalists;—all were given up to the Congress. In fixing the Boundaries between Canada and the United States, ideal Limits, ignorantly adopted on our Part, were laid down amidst unknown Tracts. Franklin, who, as one of the four American Commissioners appointed to manage the Treaty, affixed his Name to the Instrument of provisional Pacification; enjoyed, at the advanced Period of Fourscore Years, the Satisfaction of witnessing the complete Emancipation of his Countrymen from Great Britain, to effect which he had so eminently contributed by

his Talents and Exertions. Few Subjects, born and educated, like him, in the inferior Classes of Society, have in any Age of the Earth, without drawing the Sword in Person, obtained so gratifying a Triumph over their legitimate Sovereign, or have aided to produce a greater political Revolution on the Face of the Globe.

[December.] A First Minister who possessed so slender a Portion of Popularity, or of Influence over the two Houses of Parliament, as Lord Shelburne could command; would, it was supposed, have employed the long Interval subsequent to the Prorogation, in strengthening by every Exertion, his Tenure of Power. Unless he either regained the Heads of the Rockingham Party, or conciliated Lord North, which last Measure seemed to be more natural; it was obvious that he might, at any Moment, be crushed by the Union of those Leaders. On the Opening of the Session, it soon however became evident that no such ministerial Approximation had taken Place, and that the Administration relied for Support, upon its own proper Strength, or Ability. But, on the other Hand, Lord North and Mr. Fox, though both acted in Opposition to Govern-

ment, yet remained nevertheless still in complete and hostile Separation. Scarcely did they refrain, on every Occasion that presented itself, from personal Reflections on each other. Neither the Peace made with the American States, nor even the Recognition of their Independence by Great Britain, being however in themselves complete, till a Treaty should be likewise concluded with France, public Attention became wholly directed to the Issue of the pending Negotiations with that Court. On their Termination, whether it should prove hostile or pacific, all Men foresaw that the two great Parties, who now stood at Bay, without joining each other, or uniting with Lord Shelburne; would necessarily take some decisive Step, most beneficial, or most injurious in its Results, to the Administration.

Never perhaps at any Period of our History, did two successive Sessions of the same Parliament, commence under Circumstances more dissimilar than those of 1781, and of 1782. At the Opening of the former, when the Speech from the Throne announced the Disaster at York Town, Consternation or

Depression might be legibly traced in almost every Countenance. America was lost, Gibraltar invested, Jamaica menaced, our Dominions in the East nearly subverted. But, in December, 1782, the Clouds had dispersed; not, however, from the Change of Ministers, but, of Measures. We no longer pursued the delusive Phantom of subjecting the Trans-Atlantic Colonies. Rodney, whom Lord Sandwich had sent out to the West Indies, had vanquished and dispersed the French Navy. Eliott had destroyed the Spanish Gun Boats before Gibraltar. Lord Howe had thrown Supplies into that Fortress, and afterwards offered Battle to the combined Fleets. Nor were our Affairs throughout the Peninsula of Indostan, less changed. Hyder Ally was driven from before Madras. Peace had been concluded with the Mharattas; while Hughes, though not victorious, had frustrated all the Efforts of Suffrein to obtain a Superiority on the Coast of Coromandel. The Rockingham Administration had not in the slightest Degree contributed towards these great national Advantages. Fox had even recalled the victorious Admiral, to whom we owed the Twelfth of April. Keppel fitted out his

Fleets, with the Stores provided by his Predecessor in Office; and to Lord Sandwich, was, in Fact, justly due the Relief of Gibraltar. But, Keppel had restored in a certain Degree, that Unanimity to which the British Navy had been Strangers during the Progress of the whole American Contest. Lord Howe, and Admiral Barrington, Names deservedly cherished in our maritime Annals, re-appeared on the Quarter Deck from which they had been so long removed. The Fleets of the House of Bourbon, which, during three successive Summers had approached, menaced, and insulted our Coasts, no longer navigated the English Channel. Peace began to dawn upon us, and seemed to be at no remote Distance. The First Minister, sustained by the Sovereign at St. James's, derived no less Benefit from the Talents of the Chancellor of the Exchequer within the Walls of the House of Commons. While in Probity, Pitt might be placed on an Equality with Lord John Cavendish, not the slightest Comparison could be made between their respective Talents; and Lord Shelburne derived incalculable Strength from his Support. On this

apparently firm Foundation stood the Ministry at the Beginning of the Session.

[5th and 6th December.]—The Speech pronounced by His Majesty from the Throne on the Occasion, may unquestionably be ranked among the most singular Compositions ever put into the Mouth of a British Sovereign. In Length, I believe it had no Parallel since the Time of James the First, and certainly it would be vain to seek for any similar Production, since the Accession of the House of Hanover. Some Passages seemed more suitable to the Spirit and Language of a Moralist or of a Sage, than of a Monarch. In the Midst of it was introduced an Invocation, or rather a Prayer, offered up by George the Third to the Supreme Being; imploring his divine Interference to avert the Calamities, which the American Colonies, in Consequence of their becoming independent States, might experience from the Suppression of monarchical Power. Burke held up this pious Effusion of Royal Charity and Philanthropy, to great Ridicule. "The King," exclaimed he, "is "made by his Minister to fall upon his

"Knees, and to deprecate the Wrath of "Heaven from the misguided American "People, that they may not suffer from the "Want of Monarchy. A People who never "were designed for Monarchy! Who in "their Nature and Character are adverse to "Monarchy, and who never had any other "than the Smell of Monarchy, at the Dis-"tance of three Thousand Miles! They "are now to be protected by the Prayers "of their former Sovereign, from the Conse-"quences of its Loss. Such whimpering "and absurd Piety has neither Dignity, "Meaning, nor common Sense." It must be owned that these Comments, however severe, were not destitute of Truth. Other Parts of the royal Speech, afforded him equal subject for Mirth and Satire. The King concluding by a Demand on Parliament, for the Exertion of *Temper*, *Wisdom*, and *Disinterestedness*, subjoined as his last Words, "My People *expect* these Qualifications of "you, and I *call* for them." "I believe," said Burke, "that since the Days of Charles "the First, who advanced into this House, "and threw himself into the Speaker's "Chair, to find out the Members who had "given him Offence; such a Strain of va-

" pouring and blustering, such an Insult " and Indignity has not been offered to us. " Are we to be slandered or tutored, or in- " structed in the Principles of Morals, by " His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers?"——" O " wise Ministers! *Dii Tibi Tonsorem do-* " *nent!* To all except *one*, who has no " Occasion for such a Practitioner." The Allusion to Pitt's *Youth*, could not escape Notice. After paying nevertheless some Compliments to the Integrity of the young Chancellor of the Exchequer, which were all made however at the Expence of the First Lord of the Treasury; Burke declared that the only proper Description of the Speech, which the Minister had made the Sovereign pronounce, was to be found in Hudibras, when he says,

" As if Hypocrisy and Nonsense
" Had got th' Advowson of his Conscience."

Nor was Fox less severe in his Animadversions on this first Production of the Earl of Shelburne in his ministerial Capacity, though he was more argumentative, grave, and measured in his Censures. On General Eliott, and on Lord Howe, he bestowed the highest Encomiums:—Encomiums, which

were re-echoed from every Part of the House! Having again recapitulated all the Circumstances that attended and produced his own Secession from the Cabinet, he endeavoured to shew that his Resignation, by forcing the Ministers to grant unconditional Independence to America, had been productive of far greater Advantages to his Country, than he could have rendered by remaining a Member of Administration. With great Ingenuity and Severity he pointed out Lord Shelburne's inconsistent *Declarations*, many Times repeated in the Upper House, that "He who should sign the Independence of "America, would consummate the Ruin of "his own Country, and must be a Traitor;" now contrasted with his *Act* in setting his Hand to their complete Emancipation. Such a contradictory Language, coupled with his opposite System of Conduct, could only, Fox observed, be properly characterized by two Lines which he had somewhere read,

"You've done a noble Turn in Nature's Spite;
"For tho' you think you're wrong,—I'm sure you're right."

Pitt, however, who, in a Speech of equal Ability, though much less diffuse, answered

Fox on that Evening; having defended his Principal from the heavy Imputations affixed to his political Line of Action, in acknowledging American Independence, after his many Protestations to the contrary; added, "If I may attempt a Parody on the Lines "just quoted, I should say,

"The Praise he gives us is in Nature's Spite.
"He wishes we were wrong,—but, clearly sees we're right."

The Promptitude and Elegance of this Retort, made amidst the Hurry and Distractions of a long Debate, in a crowded Assembly, excited no little Admiration. Nor did he touch with less Delicacy and Force of Reasoning, on the Circumstance of his own *Youth;* "a Calamity under which, he owned, "he laboured; which he could not suffi- "ciently lament, as it afforded such Subject "of Animadversion to his Opponents; but, "for which Defect, he pledged himself to "atone, by his Care, Industry, and Assi- "duity in the public Service." If it had not been demonstrated already, how great an Acquisition Lord Shelburne had made in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Debates of the 5th and 6th of December, would

have sufficiently proved the Fact. Courtenay, when alluding to it, a few Days afterwards, observed, "The noble Earl at the "Head of the Treasury, has shewn his "Judgment in securing such an Auxiliary. "Every Man reposes Confidence in *Him*. "There is a Species of Magic in the Name "and Lineage of a *Pitt*, which must pro- "duce its Influence on the Nation. The "First Minister, who is himself a great Phi- "losopher, has, no doubt, been informed by "Dr. Priestley, that the best Mode of cor- "recting and purifying corrupted Air, is by "the Introduction of a young Vegetable."

Lord North never appeared to me, during the whole Time that I sate in the House of Commons, whether he was in, or out of Office, in a more dignified and elevated Point of View, than on the first of those two Evenings. I mean, the 5th of December. His Position was singular; standing aloof equally from Ministers and from the Rockingham Party; holding the Balance between both; placed on a Sort of Elevation, by the Events which had taken Place since he resigned his Employment; sustained by the glorious Victories of Rod-

ney and of Eliott; no longer menaced with Impeachment; animated by steady Loyalty to his Sovereign, and not less propelled by Attachment to his Country. Such was his Situation, and his Language corresponded with it! Perhaps it would have been fortunate, if he had continued to occupy so advantageous, independent, and patriotic an Eminence, without lending an Ear to the Seductions of Ambition or of Resentment, in forming a Coalition with Fox, as he did only two Months later. Unquestionably he would have appeared more an Object of Respect and Veneration to Posterity, by persisting in such a Line of political Action; superior to Party, watchful over the Constitution, and attentive only to the great public Interests of the State; than by accepting a secondary Situation, as the Colleague of Fox, under the Duke of Portland. A Situation, which, when obtained, he was unable to retain more than a few Months; and in accepting which, he must have made some Sacrifices of Feeling and of Recollection, if not of Principle! The Speech which he pronounced on the first Day of the Session, was every Way worthy of himself; and breathed the genuine Spirit of a States-

man, who though no longer directing the Machine, yet superintended its Movements with undiminished Zeal, as well as Ability. In Contradiction to his usual Style of speaking, he abstained from all Levity, and refused to avail himself of those Resources of Wit and Humour, which he had always at Command. No Sentiment of Hostility or of Animosity towards the new Administration, characterized his Expressions. He declared that he felt not the most distant Inclination to oppose the Address, or to move any Amendment, as the Advantages accruing from Unanimity at the present Moment, would, in a national Point of View, be incalculable. From the Instant that he rose till he sate down, not a Word escaped his Lips, which indicated the smallest Approach towards the Rockingham Party. On Fox he was even severe, when differing from him respecting various Points of the greatest public Importance. Nor did he spare Burke, for his Animadversions on the *Prayer* of the Sovereign contained in the Speech from the Throne. "Surely, Mr. Speaker," said Lord "North, a Heart animated by patriotic Feel-"ings, like that of His Majesty, must experi-"ence the deepest Sorrow, at an Act so calami-

"tous to this Country, as is the Relinquish-
"ment of America. His Sensations are
"truly those of a Patriot King; and I am
"assured that he felt far less for himself,
"when he made so great a Sacrifice, than he
"felt for his People."

On the Conditions of Peace which the Enemy might offer, or which it became the Ministers to accept, Lord North expressed himself in Language of equal Dignity, Wisdom, and Moderation. "To just and rea-
"sonable Terms," said he, "I will most
"cheerfully assent; but, should France or
"Spain display Arrogance and Injustice in
"their Demands, every Man in this Assem-
"bly, and throughout the Nation, will, I am
"persuaded, zealously concur in prosecut-
"ing the War with Vigour."—"We unani-
"mously demand an honourable Treaty, or
"a vigorous War. We are ready to nego-
"tiate on fair and equitable Principles; but,
"if in their Insolence or imaginary Power,
"the Enemy exact degrading Conditions,
"we are determined to maintain the Contest
"with our Lives and Fortunes." In Terms of Earnestness he recommended to the Ministers, Attention in marking out proper,

well defined Boundaries,' between the Territory of Great Britain and the American Frontier; but, above all, he trusted, that they would provide an Asylum for the loyal and unhappy Sufferers, who, throughout this long protracted Struggle, had remained faithful to their native Sovereign. Over Lord Shelburne he threw a Shield, and justified his Assertion, that "the Sun of Britain was for "ever set, when the Separation of the thir-"teen Colonies should be signed." "That "calamitous Event," observed he, "cannot "justly be charged to the present First Mi-"nister, merely because he consummates "the Deed. It is we, not he, who must sus-"tain the Culpability. If the Sun of Eng-"land is indeed set, the House of Commons "is the Magician who has brought it down "from the Skies." No Part of this admirable Speech justly attracted more Approbation, than the Part in which he replied to Fox, who had attributed to Keppel's Exertions, the Advantages which we had gained on the Element of the Water. "It is not a "little extraordinary," said Lord North, "that "the same Person, who, when he came into "Office, eight Months ago, drew a Picture "of our naval Condition, sufficient to make

" every Man tremble in this House; should " now stoutly affirm that our Navy is equal to " combating the united Fleets of the House " of Bourbon! But, as Ships do not spring " up, like Mushrooms, in a Night;—by what " Magic could so great an Addition be made " to our Navy within one Summer, unless " the former Admiralty, by their Prepara- " tions of Ships and Stores, had facilitated " the Means of Victory?—I would say to the " present naval Alexander, True, you have " conquered; but, you have conquered with " Philip's Troops." During the whole of the two Debates which took Place at the Opening of the Session, though General Conway and Mr. Secretary Townsend occasionally rose, yet the Defence of the ministerial Measures principally rested on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. No Administration could commence under fairer Auspices, which was destined to terminate so soon; not any Attempt to divide the House being made either by Lord North or by Fox, who appeared to be reciprocally animated by the most hostile Sentiments.

[11th December.] Among the Weapons of Attack which the Rockingham Party di-

rected with most Success against the First Minister, was the Imputation of Insincerity or Duplicity. It was asserted that *He* interpreted the conditional or provisional Articles concluded with the American States, in a different Sense from the Meaning annexed to them by other Members of the Cabinet; Lord Shelburne, it was pretended, regarding them as capable of being revoked or annulled, in Case that the pending Negotiations respecting Peace between England and France, should be finally broken off; while Pitt, Conway, and Townsend, declared that they were, in every Event, final and irrevocable. Unquestionably, some Reasons for Doubt as to the Interpretation of the Word *provisional*, might be reasonably entertained; and as the War with America might be revived, if the Independence of the Trans-Atlantic States was not *unconditionally* and unequivocally acknowledged by Great Britain, Fox endeavoured to probe this ministerial Wound. He did not indeed venture to divide the House upon it, nor attempt to stop the Supplies, because he knew how insufficient was his Parliamentary Strength, for making either of those Experiments with Success. But, he endeavoured

to extort a clear Reply from some of the Ministers, relative to the Point under Discussion. They, on the other Hand, refused or declined making any specific Answer during the actual State of Affairs, and demanded Time. Burke, in his metaphorical and figurative Language, compared them to the Amphisbæna, which Naturalists describe as having two Heads, one at each Extremity. "Such a Serpent, I hope," added he, "exists only in Chimera: but, Ministers resemble such an Animal. They hiss "an opposite Language from the Head, and "from the Tail, so that the Nation is con-"founded between their contradictory Sto-"ries." Even Lord North, though he approved of the Silence observed by the Treasury Bench, under the Circumstances of the Moment; and though he further declared, that if any Motion was made for compelling the Administration to lay the provisional Treaty before Parliament, he would give it his Negative; yet admitted that its Interpretation was exceedingly problematical. As the Rockingham Party was too feeble to come to Extremities, unless sustained by Lord North, Fox contented himself therefore with laying on the First Minister, the

heaviest Charges of double Dealing in all his Proceedings. Powis, who joined in these Opinions, said that he held the three Members of the Cabinet who had Seats in the House, pledged as Hostages to the Country, for the Ratification of the provisional Treaty according to *their* Construction of it. Such Reflections thrown on the Earl of Shelburne, however they might originate in the Violence of Party, and of political Enmity; yet, as impeaching the Candour and the Rectitude of his public Conduct, must have been equally painful to that Nobleman himself, and to his Associates in the Government.

[12th December.] Though Parliament sat for only a very short Period during the Month of December, scarcely exceeding a Fortnight, previous to their Adjournment till after Christmas; yet, one very interesting Debate, which arose in the House of Commons, produced a material Operation on some Articles of the Peace then negotiating with the House of Bourbon. Rumours, which acquired considerable, if not implicit Credit, were circulated throughout the Metropolis, stating that Lord Shelburne had not only manifested a Disposition, but, had

even consented, with the Approbation of the Cabinet, to cede Gibraltar to Spain, on certain Conditions. He had indeed very early felt the Pulse of Parliament, on the Subject. Mr. Bankes, Member for Corfe Castle, who seconded the Address to the Throne, on the first Day of the Session; and who seems to have been more deeply initiated in the Secrets, or informed of the Intentions of Administration, than the Mover of the Address on that Occasion; alluded in very clear and intelligible, though in general Terms, to the possible, or rather probable Cession of the Fortress in Question. He accompanied the Intimation, with Remarks on the great Expence, and little comparative Value or national Advantages, connected with retaining its Possession. Fox instantly animadverted with equal Force and Severity, on the Idea thus suggested, which he held up to Condemnation, as an Act most pernicious to the State, if it should ever be carried into Execution. In Language of Energy he depictured the Respect, which our proud Position on that isolated Rock, excited among the European Nations. "Cede to Spain," exclaimed he, "Gibraltar, and the Mediter-"ranean becomes a Pool; a mere Pond, on

" which the Spaniards can navigate at their " Pleasure! Deprive yourselves of this com- " manding Station, and the States that bor- " der on that Sea, will no longer look to " England for the Maintenance of its free " Navigation!" Nor did he let pass the Occasion of wounding George the Third, through the Sides of the King of Spain. Adverting to the Opinion which had been given by Mr. Bankes, in the Course of his Speech, that " the Cabinet of Madrid having ascertained " the Folly and Impracticability of attempt- " ing to reduce Gibraltar, by their recent " Discomfiture, would never again employ " the Forces of the Monarchy on so vain, as " well as ruinous a Siege;" Fox exposed the Fallacy of such Arguments. " There " may be," observed he, " near the Heart of " every Prince, a Longing after some Ob- " ject, which a thousand Disappointments or " Defeats cannot remove. Those who re- " collect the History of this Country for near " nine Years past, will agree with me, that " it is not easy to convince Men of their Fol- " lies, even when Experience has proved " them to be such. We have persisted " through many ruinous Campaigns, in a " War for the Subjection of the American

" Colonies. What then should hinder us " from believing, that Charles the Third may " not persevere as pertinaciously in his Long- " ing for the Reduction of Gibraltar, *as a* " *Sovereign nearer Home, was taught to pur-* " *sue the Phantom of unconditional Submis-* " *sion from America?*" The very Truth of this Observation, which could not well be contested, ought to have prevented Fox from making it in so public a Place.

Burke, supporting with all the Powers of his Eloquence, the Positions advanced by his Friend, trusted that Ministers would not dare to sport with the Feelings of the Nation, respecting an Object so justly cherished as Gibraltar. " That Fortress," said he, " is invaluable, because impregnable. The " Sovereign of Spain has not an Appendage " of his Crown, equalling it in Importance. " The Capitals of Mexico and Peru are not " at his Disposal; and the Island of Porto " Rico, if offered, would by no means form " an adequate Compensation. Gibraltar is " not merely a Post of Pride. It is a Post of " Power, of Connexion, and of Commerce." In Terms more measured, Lord North appreciated its Value. " I will not go so far

" as to assert," observed he, " that Gibral-
" tar is inestimable, and in no possible Case
" ought to be ceded to Spain. If Peace
" cannot otherwise be obtained, such a Sa-
" crifice may become necessary; but, its
" Price should be large, and no Ministers
" would be justified in resigning a Posses-
" sion so honorable, so useful, as well as so
" dear to this Country, unless for an Equi-
" valent of the highest Importance." The Offers made by Charles the Third, were indeed of such a Nature, as in the Estimation of many able Men, would have fully justified Ministers in restoring to the Catholic King, that expensive Fortress. I have been assured, that in his Eagerness to re-annex Gibraltar to the Spanish Monarchy, he tendered in Exchange for it, the Canary Islands, together with Porto Rico in the West Indies: the former of which Possessions, from their happy Situation in the Atlantic, their Climate, and Productions, might be rendered most valuable Acquisitions to Great Britain; while the latter Island must be considered as scarcely inferior to Jamaica in Extent, Fertility, and political Importance. Gibraltar, however dear to the national Vanity, and whatever flattering Recollections, the late

glorious Defence might awaken; could not, it was imagined, be put in Competition with the Canaries and Porto Rico. In a commercial Point of View, no Comparison could indeed be made between the two Possessions: but, as an Object of national Consideration, Respect, and Power, we shall probably admit that Gibraltar would have been ill exchanged for any Atlantic, or West India Islands. I am of that Sentiment in 1818, though I am ready to confess that I thought otherwise in 1782.

Sir George Howard, who was himself a General Officer, having nevertheless unexpectedly provoked, and brought forward in the House of Commons, a Discussion relative to that Fortress, and the Possibility that its Cession or Alienation to Spain, might be in Comtemplation; it soon appeared, that Men of all Parties were imbued with Partialities so warm and violent in its Favour, and such Indignation was manifested at the bare Idea of ceding it, even for any Equivalent however valuable, that the Intention was relinquished. Nothing could assuredly have been further from Sir George's Intention, who was an excellent Courtier,

than to have agitated any Subject, which in its Results might embarrass the Councils of the Crown. But, General Conway having moved the Thanks of the House to General Eliott, for his glorious Defence of Gibraltar, Howard proposed adding, "the most valuable and important Fortress of all our foreign Territories." These few Words operated like the Apple of Discord, and afforded to Opposition an ample Field for Declamation. Lord North was not present on that Evening, but Fox instantly availed himself of the Occasion. Sir George finding, that while he had only intended to place General Eliott's public Merits in the fairest Point of View, by demonstrating the Importance of his Services, the Motion had produced a great political Question, would willingly have withdrawn his Amendment. Fox however expressed the utmost Disinclination to consent. "I do not, myself," said he, "credit the Reports of an intended "Cession of Gibraltar, because I am convinced that there is not in the Cabinet, a "single Man who dares to give it up. The "Amendment, if it should be carried, will "convince the Public at large, how false "are these Rumours: but, it will likewise

" prove to the Spanish Government, that " the Nation is not disposed to permit of " such a Cession." Burke maintained the same Arguments; and Mr. Daniel Parker Coke declared, that he would rather cut off his right Hand, than ever consent to restore Gibraltar. Sir George Howard's Amendment was nevertheless finally withdrawn, by Consent of the House; but, the Substance of the Debate having been taken down in short Hand, by a Person stationed in the Gallery, and immediately communicated to Lord Shelburne; he dispatched a Messenger with it, the next Morning, to our Minister at Paris, Mr. Fitzherbert, now Lord St. Helens: enjoining him to lay it before the Count de Vergennes, and the Count d'Aranda. I know from good Authority, that the latter Nobleman, who was then the Spanish Embassador at the Court of Versailles, had received the most positive Instructions not to sign any Peace with Great Britain, however favourable the Terms might be in other Respects, unless the Cession of Gibraltar, constituted one of the Articles of the Treaty. Finding nevertheless, after the Communication above mentioned, that no Equivalent would be accepted for its Restitution; and

that the British Cabinet did not dare to do it in Violation of public Opinion; d'Aranda, in Disobedience to these Orders, finally affixed his Name to the Act, taking on himself the Risk and the Responsibility.

[13th—23d December.] Previous to the Adjournment of the House of Commons before Christmas, Fox made another ineffectual Attempt to compel the Production of the provisional Treaty with America. The Debate which took Place on this Occasion, being in Fact the last that arose of an important Nature, previous to the Peace with our European Enemies; and consequently, previous to the Union of Lord North with the Rockingham Party; was distinguished by some very interesting Circumstances. Fox grounded his Motion for laying the Treaty in Question, before the House, on the notorious Disagreement between the first Lord of the Treasury, and his Colleagues in the Cabinet, on its Acceptation; Lord Shelburne declaring it to be revocable, if Peace should not be finally made with France, while others of the Ministers maintained it to be, in every Event, final. Such a discordant Exhibition of Sentiment on so important a

Point, seemed to call for some Explanation or Disclosure on the Part of Administration. Fox, however, well aware how weak was his numerical Strength within those Walls, unless sustained by Lord North; after endeavouring to justify his Demand of the Treaty, on Principles of public Expediency; added, "I expect Support in my Motion, "though I do not court it. I do not in- "deed know whether I may calculate on "the Aid of the noble Lord in the blue Rib- "band, seated below me; as, by a strange "Mode of reasoning, he brings himself to "vote with Ministers, though he totally dis- "agrees with Them in Opinion." The Treasury Bench preserving a profound Silence, Mr. Thomas Pitt moved the *Order of the Day;* at the same Time advising and adjuring his ministerial Friends, not to violate their Oath as Privy Councillors, since nothing except Misconstruction and Misrepresentation could arise from their Explanations. At this Period of the Discussion Lord North presented himself to the Speaker's Notice, and delivered one of the most entertaining Speeches ever heard in that Assembly. Never, I believe, was more Wit crowded into so narrow a Compass! Every

Sentence conveyed the most delicate Irony, or the most contumelious, yet amusing, Ridicule. He began by lamenting that Mr. Thomas Pitt's wholesome and sage Advice to his Friends, on the Subject of observing Discretion and Secrecy, should have come too late to be of any Use, they having already been guilty of divulging their Opinions. Having expressed his Concern that it was impossible to agree with a divided Cabinet, *collectively;* he said he would nevertheless agree with them *partially*, and vote for the Order of the Day; as he should at least be sure of coinciding with those Members of Administration who sate opposite to him. "For," added he, "though I perfectly agree with the Right Honorable "Gentleman, (Fox,) in all his Statements "and Principles, yet I cannot think the "present Moment a seasonable one for producing the provisional Articles." With inconceivable Humour he contrasted, and exposed the different *Versions* of the Treaty; first, as presented in the King's Speech from the Throne, at the Opening of the Session; next, in Lord Shelburne's Language; and lastly, in the Declarations of the other Ministers. "I prefer, however," said he, "the Edi-

" tion of this Matter, as we have it on *Royal* " *Paper*, before all the subsequent Editions, " *cum Notis Variorum*, which have been " since published." On the Subject of that Oath, to the strict Observance of which the Members of the Cabinet were entreated to adhere, he made some Observations so ludicrous, as put all Gravity to Flight. " If," observed he, " this mysterious Treaty de- " pended on no Contingency whatever, it " would resemble, not a Privy Counsel- " lor's Oath, of which we have heard so " much to-day; but, a much less serious " Oath, of which we have all heard, and " which some of us may probably have " taken. I mean, the Oath administered at " Highgate, by which a Man swears that he " never will drink small Beer, when he can " get strong, unless he likes the former best; " nor ever kiss the Maid, when he might " kiss the Mistress, unless he chuse the " Maid in Preference."

Continuing, or rather, resuming his Speech, as soon as the House had recovered from the violent Effect of this Simile on their Muscles, he directed his Artillery of Jests against the Cabinet, of which three Members were

present. "It has been asserted," observed Lord North, "that the contradictory Opi-"nions of Ministers might be reduced to "some Certainty, by subjecting them to the "Wisdom of this Assembly. I cannot think "so:—for, surely the present Cabinet is the "Place where we might expect, of all others, "unanimous Agreement on Matters of State "Policy. It is composed of eleven Men, of "distinguished Talents, immense Wisdom, "consummate Experience, and determined "Firmness. This Assemblage of Genius "has besides as many more Agents or Com-"missioners now employed at Paris, on the "important Work of Peace. If such Men are "not able to fix the determinate Import and "Meaning of the Treaty before us; how "can we expect it to be done within our "Walls? I have heard this House called "the Temple of Eloquence, of Reason, of "Freedom, and of Fame: but I never yet "knew it to be called the Temple of Con-"cord." As, however, though Lord North had held up the Administration to Ridicule, and had so pointedly *spoken against* them, he nevertheless declared his Intention to *vote for* them; I believe, Fox would not have divided the House, if General Conway had

not provoked him to it, by asserting on his Legs, that "the Member who had originated "the Debate, would not dare to take the "Sense of the House, well knowing by how "small a Minority he would be attended "into the Lobby." Irritated at such an Insinuation, of which he expressed his indignant Sense, Fox persisted; and a Division taking Place on Mr. Thomas Pitt's Motion for *the Order of the Day*, the Rockingham Party could only muster forty-six Votes. Government, supported by Lord North and his Adherents, exhibited a triumphant Majority of Two Hundred and Nineteen, thus carrying the Question by One Hundred and seventy-three. It is difficult to determine with any Certainty, the respective Numbers that voted with Administration, and with Lord North, on that Evening. I should however estimate the Followers of the latter, at seventy to eighty. That he could incline the Balance to which ever Side he pleased, was evident. He appeared indeed, throughout the whole Debate, not only pre-eminent in Talents of every Description; but, as the Arbiter of the Scene. Like Henry the Eighth, he might have assumed for his Device, "*Cui adhæreo, præest.*" Nor could

Fox avoid perceiving that his own Way into the Cabinet, unless he chose to serve under Lord Shelburne, must lie through Lord North's Assistance, and could be effected by no other Mode. That Nobleman, since the Day on which he resigned his Power, had not occupied a more dignified Place in the public Eye, and in Parliamentary Estimation. These Facts, and the Reflections to which they necessarily gave Rise, produced within two Months, the memorable *Coalition*. A few Days subsequent to the above Debate, an Adjournment of the two Houses of Parliament took Place till the 23rd of January.

[1783, January.] Throughout a considerable Part of the Month of January, the greatest Fluctuation of public Opinion prevailed relative to the final Success of the Treaties agitating at Paris; and as late as the 18th, the Queen's Birth-Day, the prevalent Ideas in the Drawing-room, were generally adverse to the Probability of a favourable Issue: but, five Days afterwards, Intelligence arrived in London, that Peace had been signed at Versailles. Lord Keppel, either from Repentance of his Conduct in

having quitted Fox after the Marquis of Rockingham's Decease; or suspicious of the approaching Dissolution of the actual Ministry; or, (as he asserted afterwards on the Debate which took Place in the House of Peers,) disapproving the Articles of the Treaty recently concluded; immediately resigned his Employment of First Lord of the Admiralty. He was succeeded by Lord Howe, and early in the Month of February, the Marquis of Carmarthen was named Embassador to the Court of France. Though the House of Commons met on the 21st of January, pursuant to its Adjournment, yet no Business of Moment was brought forward, either by Ministers, or by their Opponents, during the considerable Interval of near a Month which elapsed, previous to the Day fixed for discussing the Articles of the Peace, in both Houses of Parliament. They had intermediately been exchanged and ratified by the two Governments. A more than ordinary Interest was excited on the Subject, throughout the Nation; the Stability or Dismission of the Administration, evidently depending on the parliamentary Approval or Disapprobation of the Treaty. In the House of Lords, there seemed to be, indeed,

little Danger of incurring a Vote of Censure. But, it was otherwise in the Lower House, where the Minister, in Addition to his own slender personal Strength, and the Individuals holding Offices under the Crown, could only expect Support, either from Persons inclined to maintain indifferently every Government; or from those independent Members, who, disregarding all Motives of Party, might be induced to approve the Treaties, on the Ground of their abstract Merits, and their just Claim to national Gratitude.

Facts such as these, which were palpable to all, could not possibly escape the Attention of him who was most deeply interested in their Result. And it has always appeared to Persons uninformed, one of the most inexplicable Events of our Time, that Lord Shelburne, who must have perceived the great Improbability of his being able to maintain himself in Power, after the Conclusion of Peace, without the Aid of one or the other of the two great Parties in Opposition; should nevertheless have allowed Parliament to meet for the express Purpose of discussing the Merits of the Peace, without conciliat-

ing previously the Leaders of either Side. Was he then indifferent to the Preservation of that Office, which he had acquired with so much Address, and not unaccompanied with a Degree of Obloquy? No Person can believe or suppose it. Neither his Adherents nor his Enemies, ever maintained such an Opinion. How therefore are we to interpret a Conduct so contrary to all the Dictates of Ambition, Policy, and Self-interest? In Order to explain it, I shall state such Circumstances as have been related to me by Individuals possessing Information, which will at least throw considerable Light upon the Subject.

It seemed certainly most natural, that of the two Parties excluded from Power, Lord Shelburne should have addressed himself to that Body of Men, which still considered Lord North as its Head. To many of the Individuals composing it, I know that he did in Fact make Advances, either personally, or by his Friends. Mr. Orde, the Secretary of the Treasury, in whose Department lay the *Management* of the House of Commons, was not idle during the Autumn of 1782. The American War being ter-

minated, the principal Object of Disunion between the late, and the present, First Minister, was at an End. Lord Shelburne was moreover known to have pertinaciously resisted the Concession of Independence to America. His Reluctance and pretended Duplicity, or rather his Ambiguity, relative to granting *unconditional* Independence to the thirteen Colonies, formed one of the most prominent Points of Accusation against him, on the Part of Fox and the Rockingham Party. It could not be doubted that the King, who, availing himself of favourable Circumstances, had elevated the First Lord of the Treasury, to the Place that he held; and who deprecated no Event so much, as being a second Time compelled to take Fox into his Councils; would secretly approve, and would sincerely promote, any Measure tending to exclude him from Administration. Of all political Unions that could be effected with a View to strengthen the Ministry, an Alliance between Lord North and Lord Shelburne, it was therefore assumed, must be most agreeable to the Sovereign. Nor, as I have been assured, did there exist any insurmountable personal Antipathies or Impediments between those two noble Persons, which could have prevented such an Event

taking Place. But though *They* might have been willing to coalesce, there were other Individuals in the Government, not possessed of so tractable or so conciliating a Disposition. Mr. Pitt, and the Duke of Richmond, both inflexibly refused to sit in Cabinet with Lord North; and they remained firm upon the Point.

Partial as I am to the Memory and Character of that amiable Nobleman, I am far from blaming their Determination. They considered Lord North as the Minister, who during many Years had carried on and supported by his parliamentary Ability, a Contest become hopeless, which had precipitated Great Britain into Disgrace, as well as Debt. His Subserviency to the royal Will or Wishes, even if proved, would only in their Eyes, have aggravated his Culpability. They regarded the Loss of our American Colonies, as the necessary Consequence of his Councils, or of his Administration. He was besides accused by them, of having made Parliament the corrupt Instrument of his Policy, and of having purchased the Support which he received in both Houses. Political Principle therefore dictated and produced their Refusal to asso-

ciate him to their Ministry. Such an Obstacle was neither to be surmounted, nor to be removed. The Duke of Richmond might, indeed, have been dismissed, without Apprehension of its producing very injurious Results of any Kind: but Mr. Pitt was essential to the ministerial Existence and Duration. His high Character and his *Name*, joined to his eminent Talents, formed Lord Shelburne's best Security for carrying any Measure through the House of Commons. Neither Townsend nor Conway, possessed the Eloquence, Ability, or hereditary Weight, that met in the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If, therefore, in order to gain Lord North, the First Lord of the Treasury had thrown Pitt into Opposition, no Exertions could have long resisted his and Fox's united Attacks, fighting Side by Side. And the House itself would probably, nay infallibly, have reprobated such a Junction, when attained by the Expulsion of Pitt from Power. These Causes prevented any Attempt being made to gain Lord North's Support, by admitting him and his principal Friends to Places in the Cabinet; and his Friendship, it was obvious, could not be obtained on inferior Terms.

[21st January — 15th February.] The strongest Indications were meanwhile given on the Part of Fox's Adherents, as well as by some of the Friends of Lord North, that they intended to attack and to arraign the Treaties of Peace just concluded. No sooner had the Preliminaries signed between England and the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, together with the provisional Articles made with America, been brought down to the House of Commons, and read by the Clerk; than Mr. Eden instantly rose, to express the Feelings of Concern, or rather, of Indignation and Distress, with which the fifth Article of the American Treaty, inspired him. It regarded the Loyalists, who, as appeared from the Nature of the Provisions, were abandoned by Great Britain, and left exposed to the severest Treatment from the Provincial Assemblies. This Circumstance took Place on the 27th of January. Four Days later, Fox, in Answer to some Remarks which fell from General Conway, on the Subject of the recent Pacification; observed, that though he did not mean to anticipate the Consideration of the Treaties, for which Discussion a proper Time would be appointed, yet, that he did not consider it to be

as good a Peace as might have been made by Ministers. Eden entered his Protest on the same Evening, against the Cession of a vast Portion of Canada, comprehending no less than eighteen Thousand square Miles; declaring it to be his Opinion, that in dissevering so large a Territory from the Empire, Administration had violated a positive Act of Parliament. On the 10th of February, Fox, while alluding to the Preliminaries, said, that they did not bear on their Face, their Justification. Lord Nugent, though generally disposed to support Government, yet spoke in Language of the utmost Violence, on the Subject of the Loyalists. "If His Majesty's Ministers," exclaimed he, "have omitted any possible "Exertion in Favor of those unfortunate "Men, no Punishment can be adequate to "their Crime. Their Blood alone can wipe "away the Stain inflicted on the Honor of "their Country." Governor Johnstone repeated these Denunciations, in scarcely milder Terms: while Sheridan, who already seemed to fix on Pitt, as an Object of his personal Reprehension and Attack whenever a favorable Occasion arose, exhorted the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to speak in so high a Tone from the Treasury Bench.

"If," added Sheridan, "he and his Col-
"leagues had held as lofty a Style to the
"Enemies of Great Britain, during the late
"Discussions relative to Peace, as they do
"here, they would not be compelled to
"stand so much on the defensive, as they
"probably must do, when the Examination
"of the Preliminaries comes before us."
Every Circumstance announced a Determination to push Matters to Extremity, and if possible, to drive the Ministers from their Posts, for having sacrificed the Honor, as well as the Interests of Great Britain, in the recent Treaties.

Lord Shelburne, conscious of the approaching Danger, and desirous of averting a Parliamentary Conflict so doubtful in its Issue, caused Overtures of a conciliatory Nature to be made to Fox; offering to replace him in his late Office, and to provide for his Friends or Connexions who had followed him out of Power after Lord Rockingham's Decease. The King was induced, though reluctantly, to allow and to approve of the Proposals, on the Ground of State Necessity; it being esteemed a less serious Evil, to admit Fox into the Cabinet by Ne-

gotiation, than to incur the Risk of his entering it by Storm.* In the first Case, he would remain still in a Minority, while the Treasury would be completely independent of him; whereas in the second Event, he would dictate the Law. But, Fox, though he professed himself willing to make a Part of an Administration formed upon a broad Basis, and therefore disposed to listen to the Proposition, exacted one indispensable Preliminary; namely, Lord Shelburne's Dismission or Resignation. Unless the Treasury were placed in the Hands of the Duke of Portland, as the new recognized Head of the Rockingham Party; and unless Lord Shelburne were wholly excluded from a Place in the Cabinet, he peremptorily refused to accede to any Terms of Accommodation. With all the other principal Individuals composing the Ministry, he declared his Readiness to act; but, personally to Lord Shelburne, his Repugnance continued insurmountable, and could not be removed by any Efforts.

In embracing this Determination, it seems impossible to doubt that he was more impelled by Passion;—in using which Term, I

mean Rivality, Party Feelings, and personal Aversion to the First Lord of the Treasury;—than by moral or political Principle. Even his Secession from the Cabinet, in July, 1782, though it *originated* in a Difference of Opinion on a great State Question of the deepest Importance, namely the Grant of unconditional Independence to America; yet was *consummated* from Resentment and Precipitation. Probably he regretted it when too late:—for, it was proved by Facts, that, whatever Lord Shelburne might have meditated or even declared, relative to not conceding Independence to the Trans-Atlantic Colonies, he was over-ruled, and compelled by the Cabinet, to carry into Execution that humiliating Measure. Nay more, we have the Authority of General Conway, when addressing the House of Commons on the Subject, for asserting, that the First Minister not only overcame and subdued his own Reluctance to declaring the American States independent; but, by his Arguments or Persuasions prevailed on the King his Master, to surmount his strongly rooted Antipathy to the same Act of Renunciation. Fox, indeed, always asserted and maintained, that his Resignation of Office had produced more

Benefit to the Country, and had operated more powerfully to force Lord Shelburne's Acquiescence on the Point in Question, than he could have done by remaining a Member of the Cabinet. But, it is evident that he did not lie under any Necessity of throwing up his Employment, or of sacrificing his Principles. It never arrived at that Alternative, for which he ought to have waited, before he came to Extremities. If he had temperately and steadily opposed the First Minister; appealing to his Colleagues, Lord Keppel, Conway, and the Duke of Richmond, for Support; sustained, as he was, by Lord John Cavendish; the Earl of Shelburne must have given way, or he would have been left in a Minority. No Doubt, Fox's Secession, and Appeal to the House of Commons, or rather, to the Nation, forced the First Minister, as well as his Colleagues, to concede unequivocally Independence to America. But, if Fox had been more Master of himself, and less under the Dominion of Anger, or of the Desire to dictate in the Cabinet, he might have effected his Object by a Menace of Resignation, and yet have retained the Seal. In forming an Alliance with Lord North, as he soon afterwards did,

he made a far greater Surrender of Principle, and at the same Time shocked public Opinion much more, than he could possibly have done by acting with Lord Shelburne, whatever Measures had been adopted by Administration.

Such, as I have always understood, were the leading Principles or Circumstances, on which was subsequently reared that celebrated Junction between Lord North and Fox, which, from its extraordinary Nature, and more extraordinary Effects, has obtained in English History, by way of Distinction from all other political Unions or Alliances ever contracted in our Time, the name of "*The Coalition.*" The Proscription of Lord North by Pitt, and of Lord Shelburne by Fox, of Necessity drove the two excluded Ministers into each other's Arms; at once obliterated all past Causes of Offence between them; and impelled them, banishing every Retrospect, as well as in some Measure setting general Opinion at Defiance, only to look forward to the joint Possession of Power. As the 17th of February stood fixed for the Consideration of the Articles of Peace, in both Houses of Parlia-

ment; and as Lord North disapproved of many of those Articles, no less strongly than Fox; it became obvious that they must, in all Cases, divide together on that Night, against the Administration. And if they should find themselves in a Majority, as was highly probable, it seemed to follow that the Ministers must retire from Office. But, in order to avail themselves of their Triumph, and to form a new Administration, some mutual Understanding, if not some Principles of permanent Accommodation, became absolutely necessary to both Individuals. Otherwise, however victorious they might prove in Parliament, they would probably derive no Benefit from their Superiority; and Lord Shelburne, though vanquished in the House of Commons, might still contrive to retain his Seat in the Cabinet, as First Minister.

These Considerations, in themselves most forcible, acquiring hourly Strength as the Day approached for the Discussion of the Peace, produced some Symptoms of mutual Tendency towards Reconciliation. Never, perhaps, did two Men exist, more inclined by Nature to Oblivion of Injuries, or to Sen-

timents of Forgiveness, than Lord North and Fox! The latter, whatever might be his Defects of Character, possessed in an eminent Degree, Placability and Magnanimity of Mind. "*Amicitiæ sempiternæ, Inimici-*" *tiæ placabiles,*" was a Maxim always in his Mouth. The former, too indolent to retain the Burthen of Enmity, and conscious that Fox's Hostility towards him, had always been more political than personal; gladly deposited his Resentments, his Recollections, and his Injuries, at the Feet of his Interest and Ambition. Both equally concurred in the Necessity of agreeing on some Plan of concerted Action, before they took their Places, Side by Side, on the Opposition Bench. Hitherto, though Lord North usually or always sate there, Fox continued to speak from the third Bench, as did Burke. But, however deeply they might be impressed with these Feelings, they nevertheless abstained from any direct Interview, leaving all Matters to the Intervention of mutual Friends. The Honorable George Augustus North, eldest Son of Lord North, then Member for Harwich, and afterwards himself Earl of Guildford, acted as the Negotiator for his Father, on this Occasion:

while the Honorable Colonel Fitzpatrick, Fox's intimate Friend and Companion, conducted the Treaty on the other Part. Mr. North by no means wanted Talents; but, in Address, Capacity, and Accomplishments, the latter possessed an infinite Superiority. Each, actuated by a warm Desire to conduct the Business to a successful Issue, exerted his utmost Efforts for the Purpose. Two or three Days elapsed in Conferences and Discussions: nor was it till a very late Hour of the Night of the 16th of February, that, after many Visits to and fro, between St. James's Street and Grosvenor Square, where Lord North then resided, they finally settled the Outlines of a Convention; by which, on the Part of the two Principals it was stipulated, that if they effected a Change of Administration, the Treasury should be given to the Duke of Portland; that Lord North should likewise take a Cabinet Office; that a fair Partition of the Spoils, in other Words, of the great Posts and Emoluments of the State, should be made between the two Parties, who agreed henceforward to coalesce. And, lastly, that in the Debate of the approaching Evening, they should speak, act, and divide in Concert.

[17th February.] Such were the general Preliminaries of the "Coalition." Many Difficulties on both Sides, which impeded the Progress of the Negotiation, protracted its Termination; nor did either Lord North or Fox retire to Rest, till four or five o'Clock in the Morning, when the Business was at length concluded. Fox, accustomed to pass the greater Part of the Night at Brookes's, appeared in the House of Commons with his usual Freshness, on the ensuing Evening; and manifested during the Debate that ensued, neither Inattention, Lassitude, nor Fatigue. But, Lord North, whose natural Somnolency was increased, by having sat up for so many Hours of the preceding Night, under Circumstances of considerable Agitation, as well as by the prodigious Heat arising from a crouded House;—after taking his Seat near his new Ally, on the Opposition Bench, found himself so overcome by Sleep, that its Effect became irresistible. Unwilling, probably, to exhibit such a Spectacle, at such a Moment, which would have excited Matter of Animadversion, or of Ridicule, to both Parties; he at length quitted his Seat, and came up into the Gallery. I had placed myself there; immediately over

the Treasury Bench, every Part of the House below being filled. Lord North having seated himself by me, made various Efforts to keep himself awake; but, to accomplish it, exceeded his Power. As the Discussion had already taken a very personal Turn; severe Sarcasms, as well as Reproaches, being levelled from the Treasury Bench, against the unnatural Coalition just formed; particularly by Mr. Dundas, who stigmatized it with the strongest Epithets of contumelious Reprobation; he requested me to awaken him, as often as any such Expressions should be used by Ministers. I did so, many Times; but, when he had listened for a few Minutes, he as often involuntarily relapsed into Repose. At the End of about an Hour and a half, during the greater Portion of which Time he seemed scarcely sensible to any Circumstance that passed, he began to rouse himself. By Degrees he recovered his Perception; and having heard from my Mouth, some of the most interesting, or acrimonious Passages that had taken Place while he was asleep, he went down again into the Body of the House, placed himself by Fox on the Floor, and made one of the most able, brilliant, as well as entertaining Speeches, that I ever heard him pronounce

within those Walls. No Man who listened to it, could have imagined that he had lost a single Sentence of the preceding Debate, or that his Faculties had been clouded by Fatigue and Want of Rest.

Lord John Cavendish, whom Fox always selected for special and important Occasions; as his high Character for Integrity and Uprightness, spread a Sort of Veil over the Irregularities of his Party; moved an Amendment on that Night, to the Address proposed by the Friends of Administration. Lord John's Amendment was however couched in Terms so guarded, with a View to secure as many Votes as possible, that it might rather be termed a Hesitation in approving, than any direct Censure on the Peace. Even Lord North, who afterwards proposed a second Amendment, in which he recommended the American Loyalists to His Majesty's Consideration; implied, more than he asserted, that they had been forgotten or abandoned by the Framers of the Articles of Pacification concluded with the thirteen Colonies. The *Coalition*, avowed by Fox, was not only defended with the Boldness and Decision that marked his Character; but, he retorted on the Lord

Advocate, all the acrimonious Expressions which fell from the latter, upon the sudden Union of two such inveterate Opponents. Mr. Townsend, as Secretary of State, excelled himself in his Defence of the Peace, and may really be said to have in some Measure earned on that Night, the Peerage which he soon afterwards obtained. I never saw him display so much Animation, nor heard him manifest such Ability. Nor was Pitt wanting to himself, or to his Party. But, all their Efforts proved unavailing to sustain an Administration, which having been originally established on too shallow Foundations, had received no subsequent Reinforcement. After a Debate, protracted till near eight o'Clock in the Morning, they were left in a Minority of *sixteen*. Only nine Votes therefore, taken from the Coalition, and transferred to Ministers, would have given them a Majority; and above four hundred and thirty Members voted on the Occasion.

Many curious and interesting Circumstances, some among them of a personal Nature, took Place in the Course of that long Discussion, which were calculated to make a deep Impression on the Memory. Powis, first of any Individual who rose to

speak, assumed the Existence of a political Union between Lord North and Fox; reasoned upon it as a Fact consummated, and reprobated it in Terms of the severest Irony, or Condemnation. "The House now be-"holds," said he, "for the first Time, the "lofty Defenders of royal Prerogative, allied "with the zealous Worshippers of the Ma-"jesty of the People. The most determined "Supporter of the Influence of the Crown, "joins Hands with the Purifier of the Con-"stitution, the Reformer of the Household." With great Ability, and still greater Candour, Powis pointed out the Defects and Concessions of the Treaties just concluded; expressed his Regret that such Features of the Work should excite his Disapprobation; but, added, "Yet, considering the whole "collectively, and the national Position at "the present Moment, I am ready to give my "full Assent to the Address moved, and to "declare my perfect Satisfaction." If similar Sentiments, superior to the Spirit of Party, had animated the Assembly at large, Lord Shelburne would have kept his Office. So guardedly couched indeed was the Amendment which Lord North moved, that Mr. Townsend offered to agree with it, if the noble Lord would vote for the Address: but, the

Secretary of State's Proposal met with an instant Rejection. Burke answered Powis's Animadversions on the Junction between Lord North and Fox, the Principles of which Union he justified; though as to the Fact, he neither denied, nor admitted it. "Those Persons, however," observed he, "who hold that Opinion, and censure so "violently the Alliance; have only to di-"rect their Eyes to the Treasury Bench, "where they will behold *a learned Lord* "sitting between the Chancellor of the Ex-"chequer and the Secretary of State." Dundas instantly rose, and in a Speech of considerable Length, as well as of great Ability, full of most galling Personalities to Fox, contrasted his former Denunciations of Lord North while First Minister, with his present Line of political Action. He desired Fox to recollect his own Assertions, that "almost any Peace ought to be made, "in Order to extricate the Country from its "Embarrassments, and to dissolve the Com-"bination of Powers leagued against us." Nor did Dundas omit to remind him of his pretended Declaration, that "He had a Peace in his Pocket;" as well as his Assertions of the ruined State of the Navy, which

incapacitated us for continuing the Contest with our European Enemies. On the newly consummated Union between the two Chiefs of Opposition, and on the sickly Offspring of their political Embrace, namely, the Motions submitted to the House, he indulged in the keenest Sarcasms.

Lord North's Speech on that Night, was worthy a Statesman, who had been the Minister of a great Empire. In a masterly Manner, without any Mixture of Passion, disdaining his usual Appeals to Ridicule, he reviewed consecutively all the Features of the Peace, and demonstrated the Vices or Errors interwoven throughout almost every Article of the three Treaties. While he was engaged in discussing one of the most serious Points of the Question under Examination; a Dog, which had taken Shelter, and concealed himself under the Table of the House of Commons, made his Escape, and ran directly across the Floor, setting up at the same Time a violent Howl. It occasioned a Burst of Laughter, and might have disconcerted an ordinary Man. But, He, who knew how to convert the most awkward Occurrences, to Purposes of Advan-

tage; having waited till the Roar which it produced, had subsided; and preserving all his Gravity, addressed the Chair. "Sir," said he to the Speaker, "I have been interrupted by a new Member; but, as he has "concluded his Argument, I will now resume mine." Governor Johnstone, with his characteristic Violence of Tone and Language, declaimed against various Stipulations or Cessions contained in the American Treaty; which, he asserted, could only have been made by gross Ignorance, geographical and political. Among others, having mentioned the Restitution of the two Floridas to Spain, he accused Ministers of an utter Unacquaintance with the Value, the Productions, or the naval and commercial Importance of those Provinces. "I "was, myself," added he, "Governor of "West Florida, and I know its Consequence. As to East Florida, it can boast "of one of the finest Harbours on the Globe, "infinitely superior to the Havannah; more "capacious, more safe, and more healthy." The Secretary of State, who sate opposite to him, expressing by his Looks and Gestures, the Astonishment which these Encomiums excited, "I perceive clearly," ex-

claimed Johnstone, "that the Right Honor-
"able Secretary is ignorant of the Existence
"of this Bay. I will tell him where it is
"situate, and how it is named. The Har-
"bour to which I allude, is that of Spirito
"Santo, or Tampa, situate on the Bay of
"Mexico. Its Possession would be inva-
"luable to Great Britain." Townsend did not attempt to deny that he was uninformed upon the Subject; nor probably was there another Individual within the Walls of the House, except Johnstone, who possessed any accurate Knowledge of the Bay in Question. Similar Acts of ministerial Ignorance are to be found in almost every Treaty between Nations.

Fox neither distinctly avowed, nor still less did he deny his Junction with Lord North. "That such an Alliance has ac-
"tually taken Place between us," said he, in Reply to Dundas's acrimonious Remarks, "I can by no means aver: but, if
"it should be formed, I see not any Ground
"for arraigning our Conduct, or stigmatiz-
"ing it as an unnatural Union. That I shall
"concur on this Night, with the Noble Lord
"in the blue Ribband, is very certain. The

" American War, and that only, constituted " the Subject of Enmity between us. It is " now terminated, and with it has ceased " our Hostility." Then, having contrasted the honorable, open, and manly Character of his new Ally, with the Evasions, Subterfuges, and Insincerity, which he imputed to the actual First Minister; he endeavoured to justify himself from some of the Imputations laid to his Charge by the Lord Advocate. Nor will I deny that in my Judgment, he exculpated himself fully on almost every Point. " I never said," replied he, " that I " had a Peace in my Pocket: Words falsely " attributed to me. But I averred, that there " were Persons empowered by America to " treat of Peace, who had applied to the " Duke of Richmond and Lord Keppel, by " whom I was authorized to mention it in " this House. The learned Lord challenges " me to produce the Peace that I had pro- " jected to make, when I was Secretary of " State. Will any of the King's Ministers " give me the same Defiance? I dare them " to do it. They know what it is:—for, " they have it in the Foreign Office. If, " on Inspection, it disproves my Asser- " tion, let them take Advantage of it: and

"let them hold me up to public Condem-
"nation, as a Man capable of advising
"my Sovereign, to make, if it be possible,
"a worse and a more ruinous Peace than
"the Treaties now on the Table." To Dundas himself personally, Fox addressed some of his severest Animadversions. "The
"learned Lord," said he, "informs us that
"he is always ready to support any Govern-
"ment, whose Principles he approves. I
"believe that he is sincere in his Assertion;
"and in Order that he may always be able
"to support Administration, he will take
"Care invariably to approve of their Prin-
"ciples, whatever they may be, or whoever
"may become Ministers."

But, the Circumstance, which, above all rendered that Evening memorable, as well as entertaining, was the Altercation which arose between Sheridan and Pitt. It may be said to have originated with the former, who adverting to an antecedent Debate, during the Course of which, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had objected to the Production of a depending Treaty, on the Ground that such an Act had no Precedent on the Journals of Parliament; Sheridan treated

his Assertion with great Asperity, not unaccompanied with Ridicule. "If," said he, "the Right Honorable Gentleman's Youth "and very early political Exaltation, had "allowed him Time to look for Precedents, "or to attain a Knowledge of the Journals, "his Discretion might have imposed some "Restraint on his Precipitation. He would "not then have manifested so much Indig-"nation at the Questions put to Ministers, "and which it became their Duty to satisfy. "These Facts convince me that he is more "of a practical, than an experienced Poli-"tician." Indignant at the Style and Language of Sheridan's Reprehension, and perhaps hoping to crush at once an Adversary so galling, Pitt no sooner rose to address the House, than he directed all the Force of his Eloquence towards that Quarter. "There is no Man, Sir," said he, when commencing his Speech, "who admires more "than I do, the Abilities of that Honorable "Member," fixing his Eye on Sheridan; "the elegant Sallies of his Mind, the pleas-"ing Effusions of his Fancy, his *dramatic* "Turns, and his Epigrammatic Allusions. "If they were only reserved for the proper "*Stage*, they would no Doubt ensure, what

" his distinguished Talents always have ac-
" quired, the *Plaudits* of his *Audience;* and
" it would be his Recompence, *sui Plausu*
" *gaudere Theatri.* But, this Place is not
" the proper *Scene* for exhibiting such Ele-
" gances, and I must therefore call the At-
" tention of the House to more serious Con-
" siderations of public Importance."

If Pitt had pronounced this Animadversion, so pointed, classic, and personal, at the Close, not at the Commencement of his Discourse, and had instantly sat down; probably even Sheridan would have found himself unequal to replying on the Instant, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have obtained at least a temporary Triumph. But, the Length of Time that he remained on his Legs, gave his Opponent Leisure for meditating a proper Answer. Ordinary Individuals would have sunk under the Reproof, or would have displayed more Resentment, than Wit or Composure. The Reference to his theatrical Occupations, was no Doubt illiberal, as well as calculated to oppress any, except a Man constituted like Sheridan. He, on the contrary, found in the Attack, Matter of Advantage over his Adversary and of Exaltation to himself. Rising as

soon as Pitt had finished, and having prefaced with a few Words, under Pretence of Explanation, "With Regard," said he, "to the particular Species of Personality "which has just been introduced, I need "not comment on it. The House will have "appreciated its Taste, its Point, its Pro-"priety. But, let me assure the Person "who has had Recourse to it, that when-"ever he may think proper to repeat such "Allusions, I will meet them with perfect "good Humour. Nay more,—encouraged "by the Encomiums bestowed on my Talents, "should I ever again engage in the Occupa-"tions to which he alludes, I may, by an "Act of Presumption, attempt to improve "on one of Ben Jonson's best Characters, "the *Angry Boy* in the *Alchymist*." The Admiration excited by a Repartee so keen and so prompt, cannot easily be conceived. Pitt never returned a second Time to the Charge, mounted on the same Horse: but, a Degree of mutual Alienation seemed always to subsist between him and Sheridan, founded on the Incompatibility of their Characters, Tempers, and Humours. No two Men were indeed ever cast in more dissimilar Moulds. On the respective Superio-

rity of their intellectual Endowments, I shall not venture to decide, or to pronounce. Both were the Prodigies of their Day.

Lee, the late Solicitor General, rising at a very advanced Hour of the Morning, as he was apt to do, exhausted his Vehemence, or rather, his Rage, on the First Minister; whose Character, as well as his Administration, and in particular, the Peace just concluded, which he denominated "a Dismemberment of the Empire, disgraceful, wicked, "and treacherous," he loaded with Epithets of Condemnation. On Lord North, as a Statesman of incorruptible Integrity, manly, and superior to Artifice or Evasion of every Kind, he was as profuse in his Panegyrics, as he was indecorous and violent towards the Earl of Shelburne. Nor did Lee omit to express his Approbation of the *Coalition*, as a political Union, calculated to produce Benefits to the Country. During the whole Time that I sate in Parliament I never was present at a Speech more personally abusive, or which would have better justified Interruption. Kenyon, who was placed opposite to him on the Treasury Bench, and who was composed of as tough, as coarse, though not as boisterous Materials; unable to sup-

port such a String of Invectives, without manifesting his Indignation, severely reprehended his learned Friend, for "the swaggering Language" to which he had Recourse: strongly reprobating at the same Time, Lee's Expressions relative to the First Lord of the Treasury. No Disposition being however shewn to retract, or even to modify them, Rigby interposed with an Apology for Lee, as being a young Member. Like his Friend Dundas, Rigby spoke and voted on that Night, with Ministry: but, since his Dismission from the Pay-Office, he seemed to have lost much of the imposing Manner and Style of speaking, which formerly characterized him when addressing the House. Great Anxiety and Agitation pervaded the ministerial Benches, when at length the Division took Place. As no accurate Opinion could be formed previous to the Conclusion of the Debate, on which Side the Members would preponderate, the Result, when announced from the Chair, excited as much Exultation among the Adherents of Lord North and Fox, as it spread Dismay through the Ranks of Administration.

I composed one of the Majority, on that

memorable Occasion. But I owe it nevertheless to Truth and to Candour, which are the only Guides or Principles that I recognize, to acknowledge, that when I consider the Articles of the Peace concluded by Lord Shelburne, after the Lapse of thirty Years, I am inclined to view it through a much more favourable Medium, than I did at the Time. Unquestionably, of the *three* Treaties, namely, those signed with *France*, *Spain*, and *America*;—for, with *Holland* no definitive Convention had been arranged;—the American Treaty was much the most humiliating, as well as injurious, to Great Britain. Besides the unconditional Recognition of the Independence of the Colonies, and the Cession of so many fortified Places, which it is difficult to suppose that the Americans could ever have taken from us by Force of Arms; our abandoning the Loyalists seemed, in the Estimation of People the most dispassionate, to affix a Degree of Degradation and Dishonour on the Nation itself. To Spain we likewise ceded East Florida, in addition to West Florida and Minorca, of both which, that Power had already obtained Possession. But, in Recompence for these Sacrifices, it must be remem-

bered, that France restored to us all our captured Islands in the West Indies, with the single Exception of Tobago; while we, possessed nothing to offer her in return, except the Restitution of St. Lucie. The Stipulations made respecting our Possessions in the East Indies; those concluded relative to the Gum Trade, carried on along the Coast of Africa; and the Articles regulating the Right of Fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland;—if not favourable or advantageous in themselves, might yet have been signed between two Crowns treating nearly on equal Terms. Nor, when we consider the exhausted State of England at the Close of the American War, could they justly be regarded as unbecoming us to concede, in order to dissolve the formidable Combination then leagued against this Country, which was sustained by the armed Neutrality of the Baltic Powers.

While, however, I thus readily admit Lord Shelburne's Title to national Approbation, if not Gratitude, for the Peace of January, 1783, though I voted against it, as a Member of the House of Commons; I must maintain, and I trust satisfactorily to

prove, that if Lord North, instead of going out, as he did, in March, 1782, had remained in Office ten Months longer, he would have concluded at least as advantageous, if not a more beneficial Treaty. We shall in fact find, on examining the Subject, that Lord North either adopted or laid down all the Foundations, on which his Successor in Office reared that Superstructure. In other Words, we must be compelled to perceive, that Lord Shelburne only used the Materials left or provided him by his Predecessor. The Peace rested on seven distinct Grounds or Principles, of which the first was the Recognition of American Independence. But, Lord North manifested a much greater Readiness to obey the Wishes of the House of Commons on that leading Point, than was afterwards shewn by Lord Shelburne, who did not yield, till he was out-voted in the Cabinet: whereas Lord North, after General Conway's successful Motion of the 22d of February, declaring "the Attempt to re-"duce the Colonies to Obedience by Force, "impracticable," immediately took Measures for the Purpose. On the 5th of March, a Fortnight before he laid down his Power, Wallace, then Attorney-General, moved in

his Place, for leave to bring in a Bill, "to "enable His Majesty to conclude a Truce or "Peace with the revolted Colonies in Ame-"rica." Fox affected to treat it with Derision, because he feared, its Operation on Parliament, and on the public Mind, might prolong the Existence of an Administration which he had so nearly run down: but, no impartial Man questioned the First Minister's Sincerity; and the Victory of Congress in compelling Lord North, who had so long made War on them, to treat with America as a Sovereign Power, would have been more gratifying to the States, than the same Triumph obtained over any other Minister of Great Britain.

The second Cause that produced Peace, was Sir George Rodney's Victory over de Grasse; which Event at once overturning all the Plans of Vergennes in the West Indies, secured Jamaica from any further Attack on the Part of France. Of this splendid Victory, though Fox reaped all the Benefit, Lord North and Lord Sandwich had unquestionably the whole Merit. We may even safely assert or assume, that if the Rockingham Administration had forced

their way into Office three Months earlier than they did; the Action of the 12th of April, 1782, would never have taken Place, or might have had a very different Termination. It is not pretended that Pigot possessed any other Merit than his Connexion with Fox, cemented at Brookes's, over the Faro Table. The Measure itself, of sending him out to deprive Rodney of the Command, excited just, as well as general Indignation: nor did he perform a single Act of Energy after his Arrival, which could have accelerated or facilitated the Negotiations of Peace; though Fox admitted in the House of Commons, during the Debate of the 21st February, 1782, that he was at the Head of a Fleet superior to the Enemy, and adequate to every offensive or defensive Operation. Eliott's Destruction of the Spanish Gun-boats before Gibraltar, on the 13th September; by overwhelming all the Projects of Charles the Third for the Reduction of that Fortress, laid the third Foundation of the Treaty, as it disposed the Cabinet of Madrid to terminate the War. Happily, Fox did not recall Eliott, as he had done Rodney, nor send Burgoyne to supersede him. Lord Howe's most able Manœuvres,

in supplying Gibraltar with Stores of every kind, notwithstanding the combined Opposition of France and Spain, formed the fourth Groundwork of the Peace. In the Nomination of that great Naval Officer to the Command of the Fleet, and in that Measure solely, had Lord Shelburne any Participation or Share, as contributing to terminate the Contest. Nor would it be candid to deprive him of the Merit which he may thereby claim: but, neither ought we to forget that Admiral Darby had effected the same Service in the preceding Year, under Lord North's Administration, and had relieved Gibraltar, in Defiance of nearly similar Impediments.

The three last Foundations of general Pacification, were laid in the East; where, as early as 1778, Lord North had ably anticipated the French Machinations, by getting Possession of Pondicherry. Of these leading Causes, the most essential, perhaps, may be deemed the separate Peace made with the Mharattas; a Measure exclusively due to that First Minister, who in the Spring of the Year 1781, sent out Mr. Macpherson, (since Governor General of Bengal, and

created a Baronet,) as a Member of the Supreme Council. I know that his secret Instructions were, to endeavour by every Exertion in his Power, and even if necessary, by making considerable Sacrifices, to terminate the Mharatta War. In Compliance with those Directions, on his Arrival at Madras in October, 1781, without waiting to consult Hastings, who was then at a Distance from Calcutta; Mr. Macpherson, together with Lord Macartney, Sir Edward Hughes, and the Nabob of Arcot, Mahommed Ally, acting together in Concert, addressed Letters jointly to the Peshwah, at Poonah, expressing to him, in the Name of the Sovereign and Ministry of England, their sincere and ardent Inclination to Peace. It followed in a very short Space of Time, and flowed immediately from this Source. Lord Sandwich, who sent out Sir Edward Hughes to command the British Fleet in the East Indies, may claim the principal or exclusive Merit, of having laid the sixth Basis of the Pacification of January, 1783. For, though that Naval Commander did not vanquish Suffrein, as Rodney defeated de Grasse, yet he repulsed the French Admiral, when we were inferior to him in Number of Ships;

disabled the Enemy's Vessels, and finally compelled him to postpone his Projects of Co-operation with Hyder Ally; thus protracting the Contest, till Intelligence of a general Pacification reached India.

The last Groundwork of Peace, was due to Hastings, acting as Governor General of Bengal, in Conjunction with the Supreme Council; for the Promptitude with which, after Hyder's successful Irruption into the Carnatic in 1780, they dispatched Sir Eyre Coote with military and pecuniary Supplies, to the Aid of that nearly subverted Presidency. He first arrested the Progress of the Sultan of Mysore, and finally compelled him to retreat across the Mountains of the Ghauts, into his own Dominions. The vast Fabrick of British Power in the East; originally convulsed by the Errors or Incapacity of the Bombay Government, degraded by Rumbold's Mal-Administration, and perhaps exposed to Hazard by Hastings's Plans of Ambition or Aggrandizement; was ultimately preserved and strengthened. When we fairly examine and appreciate these Facts, we shall see that though Lord Shelburne signed, or rather *concluded* the Peace

of 1783, yet Lord North's Administration *made* it. In Fact, though *no* Minister, however able or popular, could have longer prosecuted the War for subjugating the Colonies, after near seven Years of a ruinous and disgraceful Contest; *any* Minister, however moderately endowed with Talents, having in his Hands the Means possessed by Lord Shelburne, might have terminated the Struggle with our European Enemies, on making the Recognition of American Independence. Unquestionably Lord Shelburne obtained from the French Government, great Restitutions in the West Indies: but, the Enemy kept Possession of Tobago, and we restored St. Lucie; which last Island, considered as a military Post, was inestimable to France. Powis's Declaration on this great national Subject, which he made in his Place, when addressing the House, on the 21st of February, 1783; has always appeared to me to comprize in it, every Thing that can be said with Justice, either for, or against the Peace in Question. His Words were nearly these: "With Respect to the "Treaties just concluded, I have already "admitted that there are Parts of them, "which I wish, not to have seen. But,

" nevertheless, such is the Condition of the " Country, such the State of our Finances, " and so powerful is the Confederacy united " against us, that I am ready to accept the " Peace, such as it is, and to say that it de- " serves Parliamentary Approbation." Few Members of that Assembly, united to a sound Judgment, so much Impartiality and public Principle, as distinguished Mr. Powis.

Spain reaped the principal Benefit of the Treaty; as, in Addition to Minorca, she retained or acquired the two Floridas: these Advantages were however dearly purchased by her severe Losses before Gibraltar, in Men, Money, and Ships. Louis the Sixteenth, besides Goree and Senegal on the Coast of Africa, which Possessions rendered him Master of the Gum Trade; recovered the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, situate in the River St. Laurence. Pondicherry, together with the French Factories throughout Hindostan, were likewise restored by us: but, Holland, in Recompence for her unwise, as well as unjust Aggression lost Negapatam, her only Settlement of Importance on the Coast of Coromandel. America triumphed in the Contest;

and the greatest Statesmen whom England had produced, though they concurred in scarcely any other political Opinion, yet agreed on the Point, that with the Defalcation of the thirteen Colonies from the Crown, the Glory and Greatness of Britain were permanently extinguished. This Sentiment pervaded Lord Chatham's last Speech, pronounced on the 7th of April, 1778. "I will "never consent," exclaimed he, "to deprive "the Royal Offspring of the House of "Brunswic, the Heirs of the Princess So-"phia, of their fairest Inheritance. Where "is the Man who will dare to advise such a "Measure?" He considered it as a Consummation pregnant with the greatest national Misfortunes. Lord Shelburne even surpassed him in Expressions of Despair, at contemplating the Consequences inevitably resulting, as he conceived, from the Loss of America. Not once, but, many Times, he repeated this Sentiment, in the House of Peers, previous, as well as subsequent to, his becoming First Minister. On the 10th of July, 1782, when constituted first Lord of the Treasury, he declared that "when-"ever the British Parliament should re-"cognize the Sovereignty of the thirteen

"Colonies, the Sun of England's Glory was "for ever set.—He looked for a Spark at "least to be left, which might light us up "in Time to a new Day. But, if Indepen- "dence were once conceded, if Parliament "considered that Measure to be advisable, "he foresaw in his own Mind that England "was undone." It seemed impossible to clothe his Ideas of Despair, in stronger or more energetic Language. Lord George Germain entertained, as I know, similar Apprehensions. Speaking in the House of Commons, on the 12th December, 1781, he maintained, as a Position admitting of no Doubt, that "from the Instant when Ame- "rican Independence should be acknow- "ledged, the British Empire was ruined." I heard Dunning make almost the same Declaration, on that very Night. Although he spoke and voted with Opposition, yet he concurred with the Colonial Secretary in Opinion, that the Ruin of the Country would be accomplished, whenever America should be recognized as independent. Here we have four Individuals, all distinguished by pre-eminent Talents, denouncing national Ruin, as inseparable from the Loss of America. The same Sentiment had impressed

all Classes of Men throughout the Country. How are we to account for the Non-fulfilment of these Predictions? How was the threatened Calamity averted; and by what Measures was Great Britain, after losing thirteen Colonies, rendered more formidable, wealthy, commercial, and great, than before her Misfortunes? Three Causes appear to me to have principally produced so extraordinary a Phenomenon, which has no Parallel in the History of Nations.

The first and leading Cause was, the Preservation of the British Constitution. Lord North, though he lost Armies, commercial Fleets, Garrisons, Islands, and Provinces; yet defended and preserved the Palladium of Civil Liberty. He transmitted to Lord Rockingham, in March, 1782, as he had received from the Duke of Grafton, in January, 1770, that invaluable Possession, inviolate. No Minister of George the Third more highly estimated its Blessings, or held its Preservation nearer his Heart. When, on the 21st of February, 1783, Sir Cecil Wray, then Member for Westminster, accused him of blindly maintaining the Prerogative of *the Crown* on all Occasions; he

justified himself, in Language equally dignified and convincing, from the Imputation. I was present, and heard him. "I do not "know, nor can I conceive," said Lord North, "on what Premises, the Honorable "Member forms his logical Conclusion. I "certainly have frequently asserted, and I "have uniformly maintained, the Prerogative "of *Parliament* to bind and legislate for those "Colonies, which were then united to Great "Britain, by every Bond of Duty and Obe-"dience. But, I defy him, or any Man, to "specify a single Instance in which I ever at-"tributed to *the Crown*, any other Preroga-"tive than is vested in it by our Constitution; "or than a King of this Country is acknow-"ledged to possess by every sound *Whig*, "and by all those Authors who have written "on the Side of Freedom. I never did, nor "ever wished to extend the Power of that "Branch of the Legislature, one Inch be-"yond the Limits prescribed to it by Law. "And however loudly Clamour has been "raised against me, as a Minister who de-"sired to govern only by the Influence of "the Crown, I trust, the Charge has been "already found wholly untrue." Our Obligations to him are great and indelible: for,

never perhaps did any Minister surmount more severe Attacks than he endured. The Losses and Disgraces of the American War, followed by heavy annual Loans, gave rise to Meetings and Associations, whose professed Object was not only a Change of Administration, but, to effect Reforms and Alterations in the parliamentary Representation. These Convocations of Freeholders, which began in the County of York, towards the End of 1779, soon spread over the Kingdom, and were adopted in the Capital, at an early Period of the Year 1780.

Their Resolutions, patriotic in Profession, and perhaps in their Intention, were not the less revolutionary in Practice. Like the Clubs at Paris in 1790, they immediately appointed *Corresponding Committees*, whose Duty it was to prepare *Plans of Association* for ameliorating the Constitution. Men of the highest Rank, of the largest Property, and of the most unsullied Character, carried along by the Torrent, and impatient to overturn the Ministry, lent themselves to the Accomplishment of this Work. As early as February, 1780, Sir George Savile, when presenting in the House of Commons, the York Petition, accompanied it with Language such as

Ireton or Fleetwood might have used, when addressing the Rump Parliament in 1652:—Language calculated to intimidate, and appealing obviously to external Interference. These Menaces were outdone by Sir James Lowther, in April of the same Year, on bringing up the Petition from Cumberland. He, whom "Junius" denominates "the lit-"tle contemptible Tyrant of the North," threatened in his Place, that if "the Griev-"ances enumerated were not redressed, the "Subscribers would withhold the Taxes;" thus attempting to overawe the Legislative Body whom he addressed. Fox, as might well be imagined, far exceeded his Adherents, in the Violence of his Appeal to the People. On the 6th of April, 1780, the *Corresponding Committee* having convened the Inhabitants of Westminster, in Palace Yard, Fox read, and commented on the Report presented by that Committee; while the Dukes of Devonshire and of Portland were present at his Side: but the Marquis of Rockingham absented himself. Government having very properly ordered out a Body of the Military Force, for the Protection of Parliament, and Suppression of Tumult or Violence; Fox proceeded so far as

to declare in the House of Commons, that "if Soldiers were thus let loose on the constitutional Assemblages of the People, all "who attended them, must go armed." The Cardinal de Retz, when conducting the Parisian Populace, and attempting to overturn the First Minister of that Day, held and practised precisely the same Doctrine. So would Mirabeau have done in our Time; or Sir Francis Burdett, and Horne Tooke.

Even previous to the actual Commencement of the American War, as early as 1774, Attempts were made by the Enemies of Government, to excite the Shipwrights and other Artificers in the royal Dock Yards, to *associate*, to *remonstrate*, and in Fact to assume a *deliberative public Character*. I was present in the House of Commons, when Sir Hugh Palliser related and detailed this curious Fact, respecting which, no Man could speak with more Accuracy, as he presided at the Navy Board when the Transaction took Place. Mr. Minchin, Member for Oakhampton, a Gentleman whom I very particularly knew, having brought forward a Discussion relative to the Condition of the Navy, in the Month of March, 1781, with a

View to criminate Lord Sandwich, then first Lord of the Admiralty; Sir Hugh, in Justification of that Nobleman, stated broadly, that "the Enemies of the Country had "found Means to frustrate his Plans for re-"gulating the Dock Yards, on new Princi-"ples of great public Utility." In Fact, the Workmen were secretly instigated to Insubordination. "*Associations*," Palliser declared, "were formed among them. *Re-*"*monstrances*, clothed under the Name of "Petitions, were transmitted to the Navy "Board; *Committees* were appointed. Nay, "*Deputies* or *Delegates* were sent up to "London, empowered by their Constituents "to treat with the Commissioners of the "Navy, in the Nature of a *Congress*." Notwithstanding the Laughter which the Word *Congress* produced from both Sides of the Assembly, when it was pronounced; yet, Burke, anxious to efface the Impression made by the Narrative of Palliser, endeavoured to render it ridiculous; and justified particularly the Associations formed, as well as the Petitions presented; which were, he said, intended for preventing the lavish Expenditure of the public Money. But, Bamber Gascoyne instantly stood forward

to protect his Friend, Sir Hugh. Gascoyne, with whom I was well acquainted, represented at that Time the Borough of Truro, and had besides a Seat at the Admiralty Board. He possessed a clear and sound Understanding, with a most convivial Disposition; though not a very cultivated Mind, nor highly polished Manners. Rough, frank, and manly, he was not intimidated by Burke's Eloquence. In Terms the most positive, he confirmed Palliser's Account of the Delegates; adding, that "the whole "Mischief was effected by the Enemies of "England, whether foreign or domestic, he "would not assert; who stimulated the in-"ferior Orders of People to *associate*, to "form *Committees of Correspondence*, and "to throw the Nation into a Ferment." Indignant at such a Charge, which involved himself and all the Opposition Leaders, in the Guilt of Acts approaching to Treason, Burke, starting up, called Mr. Gascoyne to Order: but, He, appealing to the Chair against the Interruption, Burke, scarcely under the Dominion of Reason, exclaimed, that "if the Honorable Gentleman pro-"ceeded any further, in accusing that Side "of the House with such nefarious Proceed-

"ings, he would move to have the Words "taken down." Far from being terrified at this Menace, or affected by the Cries uttered from the Opposition Benches, of "Take "down! Take down!" Gascoyne, with perfect Calmness assured the House, that no Clamour would deter him from performing his Duty. He then repeated verbatim his preceding Words; declaring, that if any Gentleman now wished to have them taken down, he would assist him by pronouncing them distinctly a third Time. But, not an Individual rose, and Gascoyne was permitted to continue his Speech without further Molestation. Yet, Fox was present at this Scene, the Particulars of which I relate as they passed under my own Eyes.

How subversive of the Constitution, and how destructive of all Subordination to Government, were Fox's avowed Opinions, while he was in Opposition, on the Right of the People to appoint Delegates, and thereby to dictate their Pleasure to Parliament; was apparent from his Speeches or Declarations on various Occasions. I recollect one in particular, that I witnessed, the Impression of which will not easily be erased from

my Mind. On the 2d of April, 1781, Mr. Duncombe, one of the two Representatives for the County of York, having, in the Absence of Sir George Savile, presented a Petition to the House of Commons, from several *associated Counties*, signed by certain Freeholders whom he denominated *Delegates;* Daniel Parker Coke, (the *Andrew Marvel* of that Time,) strenuously opposed its Reception. He approved indeed highly, he said, the Object of the Petition, and would support it: but, not the Nomination of Delegates, whom he considered to be altogether unconstitutional, as well as dangerous. In this Sentiment he was sustained by Powis, Member for the County of Northampton. Dunning, on the other Hand, whose *Law* always appeared to me to be under the Controul of his *Politics;* and who did not then foresee how soon he should be translated to the upper House of Parliament, as well as to a Place in the Cabinet, and to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster; undertook to defend the legal or constitutional Right of the Subject to nominate Delegates. But, Fox rising in his Place, far exceeded him in Boldness of Affirmation, and in Violence of Language.

" I will not sit here, Mr. Speaker," exclaimed he, " and hear the Assertion, that it is " unconstitutional or illegal to appoint *Delegates;* or that those Delegates so named, " should petition Parliament. I consider it " on the contrary, not merely as a correct " and authorized, but, as a laudable Measure, in the present Condition and Circumstances of this Country. By what " Law is it declared to be unconstitutional, " for the People of England to name Delegates *who shall reside in London, and watch over the Conduct of their Representatives?* And who shall presume to impede those Delegates so constituted, from " petitioning Parliament in loyal and respectful Terms? Do they lose the Privilege of " a Freeholder, because they assume the " Title of a Delegate?—Certainly not. I " should have been ready to sign the Petition now brought up, in my *delegated* " Capacity; and I would have defended it " in my *representative* Character, within the " Walls of this House, as a faithful Representative of the People." Whether such Opinions are patriotic, or factious; whether they can be maintained and acted upon, without inevitably producing Confusion;

whether any Man can assume two public Characters of a political Description, the Duties of which may be incompatible and contradictory;—are Questions which must be left to every Person's Decision. These Principles appear to me to be, not merely Democratic or Republican, but, subversive of all good Government: fit only for the Jacobins of France in the Beginning of the Revolution; or for the modern Reformers, the *Watsons*, the *Thistlewoods*, the *Brandreths*, and the other Advocates of Insurrection, who wish to overturn the present Order of Things. Fox, indeed, was wholly guiltless, I am persuaded, of any such Intention. His only Aim was, by Means of this Scaffolding, to drive Lord North from Power, to force his own way into the Closet, and to compel the King to change his Administration. But, his Ambition, unlike that of Pitt, was not under the Controul of Judgment, Self-command, and Moderation. George the Third very properly availed himself of Fox's Errors, to expel him from the Cabinet, which he twice entered by Storm.

Nor were these Delegates the only Adversaries with whom Lord North had to

contend, when defending the Constitution. "The coldest Bodies," says Junius, "warm "with Opposition; the hardest sparkle in "Collision." Burke, who, ten Years later, drew forth his powerful Artillery in Defence of Monarchy, lent himself too much, at this Period of his political Life, it must reluctantly be owned, to the Machinations of Party. Many of his parliamentary Speeches between 1779 and 1782, breathe the Spirit of Faction, blended with Intemperance of Language, sometimes descending even to Invective. Dunning, though brought up to the Bar, and possessed of an ample Fortune acquired by his Profession; yet levelled a vital Blow at the Constitution of his Country, when, on the 24th of April, 1780, he moved in the House of Commons, "not to "dissolve Parliament, or to prorogue the "Session, till proper Measures should be "adopted for diminishing the Influence of "the Crown, and correcting the other Evils "complained of in the Petitions." Algernon Sydney, or General Ludlow, the most determined Republicans of the seventeenth Century, could not have made a Proposition more subversive in its Results, of monarchical Government. It is obvious that if

such a Resolution had passed, the King would have stood in the Situation of Charles the First in 1641; as the Parliament would have been placed in the very Position of the House of Commons, at that awful Period of our History. Happily, Dunning's Motion was rejected by a Majority of fifty-one Votes, in a very full House. Fox, irritated to the most violent Degree, at the Subversion of his Hopes to drive Lord North from Power, attributed his Disappointment, to the Operation of ministerial Corruption among the Members who voted on the Occasion. It unquestionably resulted however from the Alarm excited among the moderate, independent Part of the Assembly; who desired, indeed, to limit and to reform, but, not to annihilate, the Power of the Crown. No Man can doubt, that if the Prerogative of Prorogation and of Dissolution had been taken from the Sovereign, till every alleged Grievance had been redressed, the Constitution must have been from that Moment subverted; and a Renewal of the Calamities of Charles the First's Reign, must almost inevitably have followed. To Lord North, therefore; sustained by the King's Firmness of Character, we owe our Preservation from

all the Evils of a Republican, if not a revolutionary, Form of Government. Since 1688, down to the Year 1792, when we were menaced with the still greater Horrors of French Fraternization, it may be safely asserted that the British Constitution never incurred so imminent a Danger of Subversion, as in 1780.

To Mr. Pitt we are indebted for the second leading Cause or Principle of our national Resuscitation and Recovery, after losing America. His Institution of the Sinking Fund of a Million Sterling, in the Spring of 1786, by its beneficial Operation on the public Credit, Commerce, and Finances, might be said to revivify the State, and still continues to dispense with augmenting Powers, its salutary Influence. The third Source of our Prosperity came from the East, where, without a Metaphor, the Sun of Britain rose, as it set in the West. Since 1783, our Acquisitions and Possessions in that Portion of the Globe, have been perpetually in a State of Progression. All our Losses on the Delaware and on the Chesapeake, have been more than compensated by our Conquests on the

Ganges, or on the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The Augmentations of Territory in Oude, as well as in Corah and Döoab, including Dehli itself, the Metropolis of the Mogul Princes;—the Seizure of the Carnatic;—the Dissolution of the Mysore Monarchy in the Person of Tippoo Sultan;—the Reduction of Ceylon, of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the Island of Mauritius, not to mention many inferior Objects of Attention;—these prodigious Accumulations of Commerce, Power, and Wealth, have obliterated almost the Recollections of the American Struggle, and have closed all the Wounds caused by that unfortunate War. An annual Revenue of more than fifteen Millions Sterling, raised in India, payable, not in Paper, but in Specie; together with the Trade of the East, continually poured into our Harbours; have enabled us, after contending for nearly twenty Years with the Power of France, successively wielded by Robespierre and by Bonaparte, to terminate the Conflict in the most triumphant Manner. I return to the Progress of public Affairs:

However readily I admit that the Treaty of 1783, may be entitled to national Ap-

proval, yet the Members of that Administration, at the Head of which *Lord North* had so long presided, might, nevertheless, be fully justified in severely arraigning a Peace, which relinquished to America almost every Point or Object, for the Maintenance of which *they* had contended, from 1775, down to 1782. *They* might justly feel indignant at the Dereliction of the Loyalists; at the Evacuation of New York and Charles Town; and at the Sacrifice of immense Tracts of Territory, extending through near twenty Degrees of Latitude, and as many of Longitude; including Indian Nations our Allies, and containing incalculable commercial Advantages. When Lord Sackville and Lord Stormont, in the House of Peers, compared such a Treaty with past Periods of our History; when they accused the Ministry of doing Acts more culpable, than even Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke had committed at Utrecht; they might at least be considered as speaking with Consistency, and in Conformity to their avowed Principles. But, I own that it seems more difficult to conceive, and to explain, upon what Ground *Fox* could justly reprobate such Preliminaries. *He* had loudly and re-

peatedly declaimed, for successive Years, on the indispensable Necessity of obtaining almost any Peace, however comparatively bad it might be, as imperiously demanded by the fallen Condition of Great Britain.

I perfectly remember, as early as the Beginning of the Month of March, 1781, when during a Debate relative to the Loan concluded by Lord North, the Prospect of Peace being incidently mentioned as a probable Event, Fox eagerly seized the Occasion to declare that "He was ready to support *almost any Terms* that the Enemy would offer for a general Peace: meaning thereby to include France, Spain, and Holland, as well as America." He added, that "while the national Concerns were con-" ducted by the Ministers of that Period, *no* " *Peace could be bad.*" Yet he declaimed, if possible, with more Vehemence and Asperity against the Earl of Shelburne, than he had done against Lord North. *He,* who considering the Americans as originally justified in resisting the Mother Country, had often undertaken their Defence in the House of Commons; while he always stigmatized the Loyalists with every opprobrious or con-

temptuous Epithet. *He*, whom I had, myself, heard declare from the same Side of the House, not twelve Months before, on the fifth Day of March, 1782, that "whenever "he should enter into any Terms with "an Individual of Lord North's Cabinet, "he would rest satisfied to be called the "most infamous of Mankind." Adding, that "he never could nourish the Idea of "coalescing with Ministers, who had proved "themselves devoid of Honour and Ho-"nesty; as, in the Hands of such Men, he "would not for a Moment entrust his own "Honour." To varnish over, therefore, so complete a Change of Language, Sentiments, and System, required all those Talents, that bold Eloquence, and Disregard of, or Superiority to, public Opinion, which met in *Him*. I never indeed regarded him as animated by any other Motives, in his Opposition to the Peace of 1783, than Ambition and Desire of Power. Personally odious to the King, as he well knew himself to be, on Account of his private Irregularities, not less than from the Line of political Action which he had embraced during many Years; he beheld no Mode or Chance of speedily entering the Cabinet, except by uniting at once with

Lord North. Those Persons who think that Abilities such as his, ought not to have been lost to his Country, or excluded from the Councils of the Crown; will however see Cause probably, to justify in some Degree, his Sacrifice of political Principle, to an over-ruling Necessity. But, it became apparent by the Events that soon followed the Coalition of 1783, how different a Sentence the Majority of the Nation passed on that memorable Union. The People beheld in it, a complete Renunciation of every Object for which Fox had affected to contend; and they regarded, not merely with Indifference, but, with Satisfaction, his subsequent Expulsion from Office.

Lord North's Junction with the Party which had so long opposed him, has always appeared to me to admit of much more Palliation in every Point of View, than the Conduct of Fox and his Adherents. The former Nobleman, by no means in very affluent Circumstances, encumbered with a numerous Family, saw himself proscribed and excluded from the Cabinet, for having unsuccessfully maintained the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Supremacy of Parlia-

ment, against the American Insurgents. In this Situation, unprotected by the Sovereign, who was unable to extend any Assistance to him; and unpopular with the Nation, because he had been unsuccessful; Fox opened his Arms, and offered him an Alliance. Was he bound to reject it, and thus pass a Sentence of Political Exclusion on himself? But, even if he had so done, worse Evils presented themselves in Prospect. A Union between Fox and Pitt, if it had taken Place, would have eventually produced, in all Probability, his own Impeachment, and that of other Members of his Cabinet. Nor could he have found any effectual Security from such a Prosecution, either in the Royal Authority, in the Adherence of the House of Commons, or in the Affection of the Country. He might have been made the Victim and the Sacrifice, for the Loss of Empire; for the Disgraces, Defeats, Capitulations, and ruinous Expenditure, of an unfortunate War. Fox and Burke had a hundred Times menaced him with the Block. Pitt, who, it was evident, entertained similar Opinions respecting his Administration, did not at all conceal them.

Powis, when declaiming against the Coalition recently made between Lord North and Fox, on the 21st of February, observed, that "to the ill-timed Lenity of Lord Shelburne's Administration, it could alone be imputed, that the noble Lord in the blue Ribband enjoyed his present Situation of Impunity. For, if those Enquiries which had once been in Contemplation, had been carried into Effect, the House of Commons would not have witnessed on the present Occasion, the extraordinary and unnatural Alliance formed against Ministers." Sir Edward Astley, one of the Representatives for the County of Norfolk, who, though a Man of no shining Ability, justly excited Respect as a Country Gentleman, expressed similar Opinions on the same Night. So did other Members of the House, upon various Occasions. Sir Charles Turner, in his homely Yorkshire Dialect exclaimed, "The noble Lord in the blue Ribband is the Author of all our Misfortunes! If he and his Colleagues had been impeached, as it was the Duty of this House to have done, other Ministers would have been deterred from treading in their Steps. But, now they see that

" Delinquency forms the high Road to Pre-
" ferment, and if any Man of Talents within
" these Walls, will sell his Conscience, I
" will ensure him a Peerage. The Com-
" mission of political Crimes leads infalli-
" bly to Titles, Pensions, and Ribbands."
By accepting the Overtures of the Rocking-ham Party, Lord North therefore at least secured his personal Safety, and opened to himself an Avenue to the Resumption of Power. It was not, as I have always thought, the Act of uniting with Fox, that in itself disgraced him; but, the too ready Subserviency with which he afterwards lent himself to every Measure, which that enterprizing and ambitious Statesman, having again forced his Way into the Cabinet, thought it necessary to adopt, in order to maintain himself in a Situation, which he had attained in Contradiction to the Wishes of his Sovereign.

[21st. February.] The Victory obtained by the new Coalition, over Ministers, in the House of Commons, however flattering it might be to their Hopes, yet being by no means decisive; and the Peace having been approved in the Upper House, though only

by a small Majority of thirteen;—in order to compel Lord Shelburne's Resignation, it became necessary to express in more affirmative Language, a Parliamentary Disapprobation of the Preliminaries. For this Purpose, four Days after the first Debate, a second Discussion took Place, when a Motion or Resolution to the Effect above mentioned, was brought forward; Lord John Cavendish lending himself again to introduce the Business. It was indeed a Service of some Danger and Delicacy, requiring all the Reputation which that Nobleman enjoyed for political Rectitude, to protect his Friends from the Imputations excited by the *Coalition*. Mr. Secretary Townsend, in the Course of the Debate that ensued, paid many Compliments to Lord John's Candour and Honesty of Intention, at the Expence of his Understanding, or rather, of his Firmness. "I have," observed he, "the most implicit "Reliance on the Integrity and Honour of "that noble Person; who, from the Dic-"tates of his own generous Mind, would "not act uncandidly by any Administra-"tion: but, he may be led aside, in Con-"sequence of the Respect which he enter-"tains for others, *who know how to choose*

" *their Man*, whenever they want any Bu-
" siness to be effected, which is not evi-
" dently right in itself. I am perfectly con-
" vinced that my noble Friend is not the
" Author of the Resolutions that he has
" proposed; and if Ministers were to be
" judged by his Head and Heart, I should
" not fear to make the Treaties just con-
" cluded appear to him a real Blessing to
" this Country." Lord John endeavoured to justify the recent Coalition, against the severe Animadversions of Powis, and of other Members who had generally voted with the Rockingham Party; by comparing Fox's Union with Lord North, to the Administration formed in June, 1757, when the first Mr. Pitt coalesced with the Duke of Newcastle, whom he had during many Years opposed and reprobated. But, however analogous in many Respects that Transaction might be, yet it certainly failed in carrying the moral Conviction to the Minds of his Hearers, which Lord John aspired to produce by his Comparison.

The Peace was again attacked and defended on its own proper Merits, at great Length, with equal Ingenuity, Asperity, and profound

Knowledge of the Subject. Fox's Speech, though it displayed admirable Ability, as well as prodigious Information, embracing all the great Interests and Possessions of the Empire, commercial or political, in its Range; yet wanted, as I thought, that triumphant Spirit which commonly animated and characterized his Eloquence. He, no Doubt, anticipated the Event of the Evening, as almost certain; and consequently beheld before him, the Way open into the Cabinet. But, he had sacrificed, if not public Principle, at least, public Opinion, to gratify his Ambition. When he looked round him, many Vacancies were visible on the Opposition Benches; where, in Place of his former Friends, he now saw only the Adherents of Lord North, so lately his bitterest Adversaries. He was unquestionably sensible to the Circumstance, and he laboured hard to erase the unfavourable Impression, which, he well knew, his Junction with a Nobleman whom he had so lately reprobated, must excite in every Mind divested of Party Feelings.—"I believe," said he, "that there "is scarcely an Individual within these "Walls, who would give to the present First "Minister, his free and spontaneous Support.

" Has he not made, in every Quarter of the " Globe, Concessions the most important, " without even a Pretence of any Equiva- " lent? Then let not my Coalition with " the noble Lord near me, be considered as " resulting in any Degree from the *Res an-* " *gustæ Domi.* Such a Motive never can " influence Men of Integrity. Nor let it " be asserted that such a Junction against a " Minister, is unconstitutional. For, while " we admit in the most extended Sense, the " King's Prerogative of ministerial Appoint- " ment, the People can by their Privilege an- " nul the Nomination. It is only a Coalition, " that can repair the decayed System of " Administration, and give it the Tone of " vigorous Exertion. By it we shall regain " the lost Confidence of the Nation, and " give Effect to the Springs of Government. " The obnoxious Part of the Cabinet must " recede from the Presence of the Sovereign. " He possesses neither the Sanction of the " People, nor of Parliament." Such was Fox's Language on that memorable Night.

Those who heard Mr. Pitt address the House on the same Evening, cannot easily forget the Impression made upon his Audi-

ence, by a Speech which might be said to unite all the Powers of Argument, Eloquence, and impassioned Declamation. He seemed to fight, indeed, as Cæsar did at Munda, not merely for Empire, or for Power; but, for Life. After defending, Article by Article, the Treaties concluded; he finished by deprecating "the ill-oméned and baneful "Alliance" which had just taken Place between Lord North and Fox, as teeming with pernicious Effects of every kind to the Country. Then reverting to the Consequences which it might produce personally to himself, he professed his Readiness to retire to a private Station without Regret. Alluding to so material an impending Change in his own Condition, he exclaimed,

> "Fortuna sævo læta Negotio, et
> Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
> Transmutat incertas Honores,
> Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
> Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit
> Pennas, resigno quæ dedit."———

With a Presence of Mind which never forsook him, he here paused; and, conscious that the Words of the Roman Poet immediately following, "*Et mea Virtute me involvo,*"

might seem to imply a higher Idea of his own Merit or Disinterestedness, than it would become him to avow, he cast his Eyes on the Floor. A Moment or two of Silence elapsed, while all Attention was directed towards him from every Quarter of the House. During this Interval, he slowly drew his Handkerchief from his Pocket; passed it once or twice across his Lips; and then recovering as it were from his temporary Embarrassment, he added with Emphasis, striking his Hand on the Table,

"——— probamque
"Pauperiem sine Dote quæro."

Perhaps a more masterly and beautiful Piece of oratorical Acting, is not to be found in Antiquity. Even if we suppose the whole Passage to have been studied and prepared, yet the Delicacy of the Omission is not less admirable. I believe, however, that both the Lines which he cited, and the one which he suppressed, were all equally suggested to him by his Feelings and his Judgment, at the Time. Its Effect on that Part of the House which perfectly understood it, corresponded to its Merit. But, Mr. Pitt,

who well knew how large a Part of his Audience, especially among the Country Gentlemen, were little conversant in the Writings of the Augustan Age, or familiar with Horace, always displayed great Caution in borrowing from those Classic Sources. In the Lapse of near fourteen Years that I have heard him almost daily address the House of Commons, I question if he made in all, more than eight or ten Citations. Fox and Sheridan, though not equally severe in that Respect, yet never abused, or injudiciously expended the Stores of ancient Literature that they possessed. Burke's Enthusiasm, his exhaustless Memory, and luxuriant Imagination, more frequently carried him away into the Times of Virgil and Cicero: while Barré usually condescended, whenever he quoted Latin, to translate for the Benefit of the County Members.

I have already said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer excited Admiration by his Speech in Defence of the Peace. There was indeed, throughout the whole of that most eloquent Address, a Pathos, an Emotion, and an Animation, of which, even in *Him*, I hardly ever witnessed any similar

Exhibition, while I sate in Parliament. If Lord Shelburne's Ministry could have been propped or preserved, it must have been upheld by such a Man, and by such Exertions. Over Fox and Lord North, Pitt seemed to assume a moral Superiority; and, if I may so express myself, to look down upon them from the Eminence on which he stood:—not the Eminence of Power, or of Office, but, of conscious Rectitude, untainted with Party Spirit, and disdaining to sacrifice Principle for Place; while he beheld *Them* floundering in the Mire of Ambition. Addressing himself to Fox, at the Commencement of his Speech, "The Triumphs of Party," exclaimed he, "with which the Right Honor-"able Gentleman seems so highly elate, shall "never seduce *me* to commit any Act, which "even Suspicion can condemn. *I* will never "engage in political Enmities, without a "public Cause. *I* never will forego such "Enmities, without the public Approbation. "Nor will *I* ever be questioned and cast "off in the Face of this Assembly, by one "virtuous and dissatisfied Friend. These, "the permanent Triumphs of Reason and "Principle, over the profligate Inconsisten-"cies of Party Violence;—these, the Tri-"umphs of Virtue over Success itself, shall

" not only be mine on the present Occasion, " but, throughout every future Condition of " my Life."

The Coalition, though supported by Superiority of Numbers, and conducted by extraordinary Talents, as well as Energies; shrunk, as I thought, under the Castigation thus inflicted, to which Fox made no Reply. After having depictured in a masterly Manner, not less lucid and distinct, though less verbose than Fox; the fallen State of the British Empire and of its Resources, at the Beginning of 1783; he alluded with surprizing Delicacy and Beauty, to its widely different Position in 1763, when the great Earl of Chatham, his Father, had placed it on the Summit of national Glory. " Could His Majesty's present Ministers," said he, " thus surrounded, as we are, with " Scenes of Calamity, attempt to dictate " Terms of Pacification to the confederate " Powers?—Even the Dutch had not been " disarmed or conciliated by the humiliating " Language of the late foreign Secretary. " Should we have persevered from Day to " Day, in throwing the desperate Die? Can " the Articles of Peace now accepted, suffer " any serious Comparison with the Treaty

" of Paris?—There was, indeed, a Time, when " this Country might have dictated Condi- " tions to her Enemies! And if an Imagi- " nation, warmed with the Power and Pros- " perity of Great Britain, could have di- " verted any Member of the present Cabinet, " from a painful Perception of the Truth, " I may, I hope, without Presumption, have " been entitled to that Indulgence. I well " recollect how much my Childhood was " animated by the Recital of England's Vic- " tories. I was instructed by one, whose " Memory I must ever cherish and revere, " that at the Termination of a Contest, " widely different from the present, we had " prescribed the Terms of Peace to submis- " sive Nations. This was the Æra of our " Splendor; in contemplating which I may " be allowed to feel a more than common " Interest. But, that Æra is fled! We are " now under the mortifying Necessity of " adopting a Tone and Language corre- " sponding with our altered Condition. All " the Visions of our Power and Pre-emi- " nence have passed away."

Noble and affecting as was this Picture, drawn by such a Hand, and on such an

Occasion; I am not sure whether it was not outdone by other Passages, in the Course of the same Evening. His two Portraits, of Lord Shelburne, and of Lord North, though I may not altogether admit their Truth in every Particular, were Master-pieces of Talent. "From the Complexion of this "Evening's Debate," observed Pitt, "it "appears obvious that the Motions originate, "rather in the Desire of driving the Earl of "Shelburne from the Treasury, than in any "Conviction that Ministers merit Censure "for the Concessions made in Order to ob-"tain Peace. Concessions arising from an "insurmountable Necessity, and imputable "solely to the Cabinet of which the noble "Lord in the blue Ribband was the Head. "The Minister who now presides in the "Councils of the Crown, like every other "Individual eminent for Ability, and placed "in high Office, becomes naturally an Ob-"ject of Envy. The *Obloquy*, to which his "Capacity and his Elevation subject him, "has been created and circulated with equal "Meanness and Address: but, his Merits "are as much above my Encomiums, as *the "Arts to which he owes his Defamation*, are "beneath my Notice. When, bereft of

" Power, he descends into Life, without the " invidious Appendages of Place; Mankind " will view him through a different Medium, " and perceive in him Qualities richly en- " titling him to their Esteem."—" My parti- " cular Share of the Censure pointed against " Ministers, I will support with Fortitude, " because I have not acted wrong. My own " Heart, a Monitor which never yet did, " and I trust, never will deceive me, consti- " tutes my Asylum against Clamour and " Faction. I felt no extraordinary Eager- " ness to come in, and I shall experience no " Reluctance to go out, whenever the Pub- " lic may think proper to dismiss me from " their Service."—" I repeat, that whatever " may appear humiliating or inadequate, in " the Treaties now laid upon the Table, is " exclusively and wholly chargeable to the " noble Lord in the blue Ribband. His " Profusion of the public Money, his noto- " rious Temerity and Pertinacity in prose- " cuting the War for reducing America to " Submission;—a Contest which originated " in his pernicious and oppressive Policy; " when added to his utter Inability for filling " the Station which he occupied;—these " Circumstances have rendered Peace, al-

" most of any Description, indispensable for " the Extrication of the State." I will fairly confess, that though I voted against Ministers on that Night, yet Mr. Pitt never appeared in my Eyes, an Object of more just Admiration, than when on the Point of laying down his Power. Such, I believe, to have been the Sentiment universally felt, not less by his Opponents, than by his Supporters.

While however I do him this Justice, I cannot pass over in Silence the Part which Lord North performed, on an Occasion which demanded all his Exertions. He rose soon after Pitt concluded, and rarely have I witnessed, even from *Him*, an Exhibition of greater Talent. " The last Speaker," observed he, " whose amazing Eloquence has " so deeply impressed and affected every " Person in this Audience, does me the Ho- " nour to select me as the Object of his " Thunder. And it constitutes no slender " Presumption of my Innocence, that I have " heard him thunder without experiencing " any Dismay. I have even listened to his " Thunder, with equal Astonishment and " Delight. But, I call on him, and on every

"Individual who hears me, to attest my "Declaration, that I have never abandoned "in a single Instance, my Character, my "Connexions, or my political Principles. "I have been, and I am ready to meet, "without Subterfuge or Evasion, the most "scrupulous Enquiry into every Action of "my Life. I am ready, even at this Instant, "to stand forth, and to bid Defiance to "every Species of Investigation. Conscious "of my Rectitude of Intention, I labour "under no Apprehension, either of incurring "Censure, or of deserving Punishment." Then alluding to his Junction with Fox, after having spoken of his Abilities, in Terms of the warmest Panegyric, Lord North added, "It is true that during my Admi- "nistration, when I was vilified and abused, "as every unfortunate Minister must be, "he often ran me hard, and made me the "Object of his severe Animadversion. But, "however deficient in Capacity may have "been my official Conduct, I trust, it will "be admitted that I never wanted Zeal to "promote the true Interests of my Country, "according to my Conception of them. And "notwithstanding the Asperity with which "he frequently treated me, as well as my

"Measures, I do not recollect his ever "charging me with the direct Want of In- "tegrity. I know his Temper to be warm; "but, he is of a generous Nature, open, "sincere, and manly. While I admire the "vast Extent of his Mind, I can rely with "Security, on the Goodness of his Heart. "And our Principles, which were adverse, "being now congenial, we shall unite all "our Energies in the Cause of Great Bri- "tain." We must admit that a more elo- quent and able Defence of the *Coalition*, could not have been pronounced. The Public, nevertheless, viewed it through other Optics, and considered it as a mutual Sa- crifice of political Principle.

A Minority of *seventeen*, in which the Ministry remained at the Close of the Debate, which took Place at a very late Hour, and in a very crowded House of Commons, where near four Hundred Members voted; seemed to secure the Triumph of the *Coali- tion*. Yet, as no direct Censure had hither- to been passed upon the Administration; and as the Condemnation expressed relative to the Peace, was couched in very moder- ate Terms; simply stating that "the Con-

"cessions made, were greater than our Ad-
"versaries were entitled to demand;" it did not by any means follow, that a Change in the Government would take Place. Lord North himself had sufficiently demonstrated, during the two Sessions of 1779 and 1780, how little Effect a Majority had, in compelling him to retire from Office: and the political, if not moral Disapprobation, felt at the recent Junction of two Men who had so long condemned and reprobated each other, pervaded to a certain Degree, all Ranks. Of this mortifying Fact, Fox very early received the most unequivocal Proofs. Powis had commented on it with great Acrimony. Sir Cecil Wray, Fox's Colleague for Westminster, rising in his Place during the Debate which we have just reviewed; exclaimed, "I am told that a Coalition has "taken Place with that Ministry, to whose "Mal-Administration is alone imputable the "distressed Condition of the Country, which "renders necessary the present Peace. What "Opinion may be entertained by other Gen-"tlemen, I know not: but, for my own "Part, I solemnly declare, I never will "support an Administration so composed, "nor any Administration, of which Lord

" North forms a Part." Mr. Duncombe, one of the two Representatives for the County of York, expressed himself, if possible, in stronger Language, only three Days after the Debate of the 21st of February. Having presented a Petition to the House, from near ten Thousand Freeholders of Yorkshire, demanding a more equal Representation in Parliament; he took Occasion to say, that " it would be with Reluctance " he should support any Administration, " of which Lord North was a Member." Burke, no doubt thinking to efface the Impression, instantly stood up, and remarked with some Asperity, that, " as to Parlia- " mentary Support, it ought neither to be " given, nor to be withheld, on Account of " Men, but, of Measures." Adding, " the " Honorable Gentleman appears to be of a " different Sentiment, as he informs us, he " will consider Men, and not Measures." Duncombe, however, not intimidated by the Correction, observed, that " he might have " expressed himself incorrectly in making " Use of the Term *Reluctance*." " I will, " therefore," continued he, " amend it, and " declare that I never will lend my Sup- " port to such an Administration. In thus

" speaking of the noble Lord, I wish to have " it understood, that I have in View, the " Measures, as well as the Man; for, from " his past Measures, I appreciate the Man."

Mr. Walter Stanhope, then Member for Hull, retorted on Burke for his Versatility. " I own it astonishes me," said he, " to find " that the noble Lord's Defender, is the " very Person who has more than once de- " clared him a fit Object of Impeachment; " nay, who went so far as to assert in this " House, that he had an Impeachment ready " drawn in his Pocket." Such were the humiliating Reflections or Animadversions, to which the Coalition gave Rise, among Men most attached to Fox, and to the Rockingham Party! Mr. Hill, who represented Shropshire, and who was afterwards better known in the Annals of Parliament, as Sir Richard; accustomed to borrow his Allusions from Holy Writ, compared the Junction of Lord North and his new Associate, to the Union between Herod and Pontius Pilate. Even Sir Charles Turner, a Man devoted to Fox, and who so implicitly adopted all his political Opinions, as in general to retain none of his own, yet recoiled at the Union; of which he expressed

himself, when addressing the House, in that plain, unadorned, but, emphatic Style, natural to him. "The *Coalition*," exclaimed he, "has astonished the whole Nation, and "no Individual more than myself. I am "sorry for it, as my worthy Friend Charles "has materially injured himself by it. He "has lost much of his Popularity. The "noble Lord with whom he has coalesced, is "undoubtedly the best of Men, considered "as a private Character: but, as a Minister, "he has been most unfortunate. I repro-"bate therefore the Alliance between them. "It will turn out ill, and never answer the "Expectations of its Authors." Even the very Majority which had disapproved of the Treaties, as inadequate to our just Expectations, yet might not follow up their Vote by any personal Attack on Ministers; or if they did, might fail to carry the House with them. And in that Event, the Coalition would remain seated, as before, on the Opposition Bench, without deriving any Benefit from their late Success. A First Lord of the Treasury, who, to conscious Integrity, joined Fortitude and Resources of Character, seemed exempt from any Necessity of resigning, on Account of the Danger of Impeachment; and might still, by protracting

the Struggle, terminate it advantageously to himself. Such were the Opinions at that Time generally entertained, and the Expectations formed, both in, and out of Parliament.

[22d—28th February.] But, all these political Speculations were suddenly overturned by Lord Shelburne's immediate Resignation. Without waiting for any broader Hint, or trying by any Exertions to perpetuate his Possession of Power, he retired from Ministry, as so many of his Predecessors had done during the present Reign. There has always appeared to be something mysterious or unexplained, in the Motives which impelled him thus precipitately, if not prematurely, to abandon a Situation which he had attained with so much Labour, as well as Address, and from which he can scarcely be said to have been driven. So singular a Fact was variously explained or interpreted at the Time. As even his Opponents neither attributed to him, Want of Ambition, nor any Defect of Firmness, it became requisite to discover and to assign other Reasons for his Conduct. Reports injurious to his political Reputation,

were industriously disseminated by his Enemies; which, from the systematic Hostility exhibited in their Diffusion, I believe to have been without Foundation. Pitt himself may, indeed, be said to have involuntarily given some Weight to them, by his own Line of Conduct towards Lord Shelburne:—for, though scarcely ten Months elapsed, before Pitt came again into Power, yet he never associated that Nobleman to any Share of it, nor ever offered to give him a Place in the Cabinet, as Lord President, or as Lord Privy Seal. So pointed an Exclusion of the Man, who had first called him up to the Councils of the Sovereign, and placed him there as Chancellor of the Exchequer, at three and twenty, is not easily explained. It is true that Pitt pronounced, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the Treasury Bench, the highest Encomiums on his Principal, during the Course of the Discussions that took Place relative to the Peace. In his memorable Speech of the 21st of February, he even alluded, as we have seen, with indignant Warmth, to the "Arts of Defama-"tion" which Lord Shelburne's Enemies adopted, for the Purpose of degrading him in the national Estimation;—Arts, of which

Pitt professed his Scorn, as well as his Conviction of their Falsehood. But, his Actions seem to have contradicted his Professions.

I have however been assured that Pitt, when he was made First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in December, 1783, *did* offer Lord Shelburne a Seat in the Cabinet:—a Proposition which was declined by the latter, as he conceived it impossible for Pitt to maintain himself in Office, against a decided Majority in the House of Commons. When he had ultimately surmounted all Opposition, and was become established in Power, he therefore did not esteem it necessary to reiterate the Offer. Lord Shelburne, offended at his Exclusion from any Place in Administration, complained of it to the King; adding, that "He, who had first introduced Mr. Pitt into the Cabinet, found "himself now neglected by his former *Eleve*." But, His Majesty replied, "My Lord, I "believe, Mr. Pitt was the only Man who "could have aided you so essentially as he "did, on your being placed at the Head of "the Treasury, after the Marquis of Rockingham's Decease." I have Reason to think that this Anecdote is correct and well

founded. That towards the End of 1784, Pitt advised His Majesty to raise Lord Shelburne to the Rank of a British Marquis, must be admitted. But, that Title was understood to be given, (like the Earldom of Lonsdale, conferred by Pitt on Sir James Lowther, earlier in the same Year), as Payment in full from the First Minister, for all past Obligations or Services. Lord Shelburne, after his Resignation, seemed in Fact to be regarded as politically extinct, though still in the full Enjoyment of all his Faculties of Body and Mind, nor at all supposed to want Ambition. The Marquis of Lansdown, as a Peer of Parliament, sometimes took a Part in the Debates of the upper House; but, he never openly aspired again to become First Lord of the Treasury, nor even to enter the Cabinet.

[1st—6th March,] Throughout the whole Proceeding of the Ministerial Change that took Place at this Time, there was something personal, which attached exclusively to himself. *He* resigned, almost immediately after the second Debate, of which I have spoken; but *the Administration* was by no means on that Account, at an End. Pitt, far from following his Example, remained in

Office more than five Weeks, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the First Lord of the Treasury had retired; a Circumstance unprecedented in our History!—Nor can there be any Doubt that he might have retained his Situation under the *Coalition*, if he would have submitted to sit in Cabinet, and to act with Lord North: but his Principles were too inflexible to accommodate themselves to Circumstances. Lord John Cavendish, far from forming any Obstacle, would have lent every Facility to Pitt's Continuance at the Head of the Exchequer. Fox himself, in the Course of his Speech on the 21st of February, expressly stated the Fact. "Can my noble Friend," said he, "who "brings forward the present Resolution, be "considered as a Man ambitious of Power? "He, who has always been known rather "to avoid, than to court, official Employ-"ment? If he has any Blemish to set off his "eminent Virtues, it is that of receding from "those Places, where his Ability and Inte-"grity might render essential Service to his "Country." Throughout the two Debates in the lower House of Parliament, on the Peace, Lord Shelburne formed, if not the exclusive, yet the principal Object of Attack. Even those Members who most severe-

ly reprobated the Junction of Lord North and Fox, expressed the greatest Indifference on the Subject of the First Lord of the Treasury, and his Tenure of Power. "As to the "present Premier," said Sir Cecil Wray, "I know little of him, and various Reasons "induce me to wish him out of Office; but, "not for having concluded the Treaties on "the Table." Powis speaking on the same Subject, on the Night of the 21st, observed, that "if the Removal of the First Minister, "constituted the principal Object of the "Motion, he considered it as already suffi- "ciently decided." "The Division," added he, "on the former Agitation of the present "Question, four Days ago, may have given "a pretty broad Hint to the noble Lord, "that he is by no means so popular as he "had imagined."

Powis's Language on the 6th of March, when alluding to the State of ministerial Affairs, was still more pointed. "The Ad- "ministration," remarked Powis, has been "for some Time burning in the Socket, "and has at last become extinct. But, per- "haps, in one Point of View, this is no na- "tional Misfortune;—for, when I reflect who "is at the Head of the Ministry, I may say,

" it would be better to have no Head at all." Widely different were his Expressions relative to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. " In the Dissolution of the present Cabinet," continued he, " there is however one Cir-" cumstance deeply to be regretted: I mean," " the Loss which the Public will sustain by " the Retreat from Office of a Gentleman, " whose splendid Abilities may adorn any " Situation. It is to be hoped that he will " not remain long unemployed. Great Ta-" lents are public Property, and therefore " the Public ought not to be deprived of " them." An extraordinary and anomalous Interval of Time followed Lord Shelburne's Resignation, during which the Functions of Government may be said to have suffered a Suspension; while the King, the Ministry, and the Candidates for Power, stood looking at each other. William the Third never displayed more Steadiness or Determination, at any Period of his Life, either when Prince of Orange, or after his Elevation to the Crown of England, than George the Third manifested, throughout the whole of " this Interregnum," as it was denominated. Though his First Minister, from whatever Motives, had quitted him, he did not aban-

don himself, or forsake those Individuals who remained faithful to him. On the contrary, he made the most desperate Efforts to avoid passing under a Yoke, which he considered as equally painful to himself, and pernicious to his People.

The *Coalition*, having twice defeated Administration in the House of Commons, and having compelled Lord Shelburne to retire, considered the Business as effected, and their Triumph secure. Resting therefore on their Arms, without attempting to push their Advantages farther, they waited till the King should send to the two Leaders, in order to form a new Ministry. But, in this Expectation, however natural, they greatly deceived themselves. That Prince, as if conscious that Lord Shelburne constituted the principal, and the most vulnerable Object of Attack; having disembarrassed his Councils of the Weight that encumbered them, endeavoured to repair the Breach, and to form a new Rampart against Lord North and Fox. It might perhaps have been imagined, that the Presence of the former Nobleman in Cabinet, and the Share of Power which must necessarily be allotted to him

and his Friends, in the Formation of a new Government; would have tranquillized the King's Mind, by affording a Security against the Attempts or Character of the latter Statesman. But, he knew by the Experience of many Years, the Pliability and Easiness of Lord North's Nature: nor was he unacquainted with the Energy of Fox's Mind, or unapprized of the Efforts that he would probably make, in order to cement, and to perpetuate that Elevation, which he had now nearly attained with so much Difficulty. The King, who considered Fox as a Man ruined in Fortune, of an incorrect moral Conduct, and surrounded with a Crowd of Followers resembling him in these Particulars; deprecated, as the severest Misfortune to himself and to his Subjects, the Necessity of taking such a Person, however eminent for Capacity, into his Confidence or Councils. When we consider these Circumstances, we shall not wonder at the long, though ineffectual Resistance made by His Majesty, before he submitted to receive the Law from the *Coalition*.

[6th March.] Previous to Lord Shelburne's Resignation, and the Dissolution of

his Ministry, various Pensions having been granted to eminent Individuals, particularly one to the Chancellor, and a second to Lord Grantham; Powis brought the Subject before the House. Pitt stated the Circumstances attending these Grants, officially, from the Treasury Bench; and a very animated, as well as personal Discussion arose, in which Fox took a most prominent Part. He was peculiarly severe on Lord Thurlow, whom he supposed to form, by his Advice to the King, the principal Impediment to the Formation of a new Administration. "I "have long lived," said he, "on Terms of "sincere private Friendship with that noble "Person, who unquestionably possesses "great Abilities: but I am nevertheless of "Opinion, that they are exerted in a Man-"ner most injurious to the true Interests of "this Country."—"We are told," continued he, "by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that when Lord Grantham accepted the "Office of Secretary for the Foreign De-"partment, His Majesty promised him a "Pension of two Thousand Pounds a Year, "whenever he should leave the Office. "What is this, except bribing Persons by "Pensions, to assume Employments, for the

" Acceptance of which they betray no Incli-
" nation? By such Expedients, the Crown
" can always form an Administration, with-
" out regarding either the Approbation of
" Parliament, or the Confidence of the Peo-
" ple." Having thus animadverted on one Secretary of State, he turned round upon the other, Mr. Townsend, who on that very Day had been raised to the Peerage, by the Title of Lord Sydney. " No Man," observed Fox, " entertains a higher Esteem
" for him than I do, or more sincerely wishes
" him loaded with Honours. Yet it seems
" a little extraordinary, that the Sovereign
" should think proper to remunerate those
" Ministers who have assisted in making a
" Peace, which, the more I contemplate it,
" the more Cause of Wonder do I find, at
" any Secretary of State having affixed his
" Signature to such Treaties." From the absent, reverting to those who were present, he next attacked Dundas, who had recently obtained the Place of Keeper of the Signet in Scotland. After declaring that he meant nothing invidious, or personally offensive, Fox added, " All the World nevertheless
" wonders at so strange a Fact, as giving a
" Man an Office for Life, on Condition of his

"taking another, the Treasurership of the "Navy, which may be regarded as nearly a "Sinecure. So absurd, as well as lavish a "Waste of the public Money, has, I believe, "no Precedent." Towards the Conclusion of his Speech, he once more fastened upon the Chancellor, "whose injurious Influ-"ence," Fox declared, "the Kingdom felt "at the present Moment." Adding, "If "those pernicious Exertions had not been "made, I fully believe, an Administration "would have been formed some Days ago, "which would have united the Confidence "of this House, and the Affection of the "People."

No sooner had Fox concluded, than the Lord Advocate rose, and having explained the Circumstances that attended his Acceptance of the Place of Treasurer of the Navy; —a Situation which, he candidly admitted, was not one suited to him; he subjoined, "I will not however say that I am unfit for "the Office which I have obtained in Scot-"land; and as His Majesty has been pleased "to honour me with a Patent Place, I do "assure the Right Honorable Gentleman, "that I never will dishonour the Patent, by

" carrying it to Market." Dundas's Allusion in these last Words, to the Sale or Exchange negotiated by Fox with Mr. Charles Jenkinson, to whom he sold the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland, was too pointed, as well as personal, to be passed over in Silence. He instantly replied, that the Transaction in Question, had in it nothing dishonorable. " I received," said he, " the Pa-
" tent in Question, from my Father, as a
" Part of my Fortune, altogether uncon-
" nected with the Ministry of that Day, who
" first applied to me on the Subject. I
" consented to accommodate Government,
" though on very injurious Conditions for
" myself, as I parted with a Thing of consi-
" derably greater Value, than I received in
" return. This is the whole Affair, and no
" Man except the learned Lord ever thought
" it dishonorable or disgraceful in the
" slightest Degree." Rigby confirmed Fox's Statement in the most ample Manner. " I
" was acquainted," observed he, " with every
" Part of the Bargain, which was perfectly
" honorable; and in which there could be
" only one Thing censurable; namely, that
" the Possessor of it gave away his Patent
" for less than its Worth." George Byng ad-

ded, that the Place had no sooner passed out of Fox's Possession, into the Hands of Mr. Jenkinson, than its Value became augmented to the Amount of full a Thousand Pounds a Year. Here the Matter dropped: but, Rigby having stated in the Course of his Speech, that "though he did not ap- "prove of the late Coalition, yet he was "ready to support any Administration, whe- "ther formed on a broad, or on a narrow "Basis, which might rescue the Country "from its present deplorable State;" Courtenay exposed the Declaration to much Derision. "I give the worthy Gentleman, entire "Credit for his Assurance," said he, "and "I am persuaded, he is animated by no "other Motive, except to preserve Peace "and Unanimity; to maintain the proper "Equilibrium between the Crown and the "People; but, above all, to retain down to "the last Moment possible, every *Balance* "in his Hands."

[7th—23d March.] During the Course of the Month of March, every Measure was adopted on the Part of the King, that promised to frustrate the Hopes of the new Confederates. Earl Gower, to whom the

Place just vacated by Lord Shelburne, was offered, manifested the utmost Readiness to accept it, if the probable Means of maintaining himself there, could be demonstrated. But, by what Expedient could a Minority of the House of Commons, be converted by him at once into a Majority? The Difficulties being considered as insuperable, the Experiment was therefore at length abandoned. Meanwhile the *Coalition*, indignant at so long a Delay, began to manifest Symptoms of Impatience. The House of Commons having adjourned for some Days, after the Debate of the 21st of February, on a Motion to that Purpose, made by Mr. Dundas, with the View of allowing Time for a new ministerial Arrangement; Lord Maitland called on the Lord Advocate to state the Reasons, why a Successor had not been appointed to the Earl of Shelburne. This Fact took Place on the 28th of February: but, no Reply being returned to Lord Maitland's Enquiry, either by the Person, to whom the Question was addressed, or from any Individual seated on the Treasury Bench, though Pitt himself was present, the Subject proceeded no further. Things remained in this State during more than a

Fortnight, it being perfectly understood that His Majesty was occupied in unceasing Exertions, to prop or to recreate the Administration. At length, on the 18th of March, Mr. Coke, Member for the County of Norfolk, having given Notice that if no Ministry should be formed in the Course of two Days, he would move an Address to the Crown, on the Subject; the King, conceiving it dangerous, as well as useless, to protract the Contest, sent his Commands to the Duke of Portland and Lord North, to wait upon him at St. James's. I have been assured that at the Audience which took Place, His Majesty offered to concede every Point in Litigation, except one; namely, that Lord Thurlow should not be deprived of the Great Seal. If that Nobleman, he said, were permitted to remain in Office, he would allow the new Ministers to dispose of all other Employments at their Pleasure. But, no Arguments could induce the *Coalition* to relax upon so essential an Article. Fox equally disliked and dreaded the Chancellor, whose Intractability, when added to his Influence over the Royal Mind, in a Place which rendered him the Director of his Sovereign's Conscience; exposed the

new Candidates for Office, to perpetual Danger. They insisted peremptorily on putting the Great Seal into Commission. Their Proposition being as firmly rejected by his Majesty, the Conference terminated without any Progress or beneficial Result.

Just at this critical Juncture died the Honorable Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury; a Man of amiable Character, though not distinguished by the eminent Virtues of Tillotson, or the Talents of Laud. The King, who well knew that the *Coalition*, or in other Words, that Fox, had destined that great ecclesiastical Elevation, for Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, or for Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough; probably, for the former of them; and who was also aware that if he wished to dispose of it, himself, he had not an Hour to lose; immediately sent for Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. That excellent Prelate, whose Piety and Learning rendered him one of the Ornaments, as well as Pillars, of the Anglican Church, having waited on His Majesty, was informed by him, that the See of Canterbury had become vacant; and that, as he knew no Person, in his Opinion, more

worthy to fill the Metropolitan Chair, he wished the Bishop to accept it. He added, that in the actual Position of public Affairs, when he might, every Day, be compelled to take new Ministers into his Councils, he hoped that the Bishop would interpose no unnecessary Delay. But, Dr. Hurd, far from desiring a Dignity so much sought after, besought the King to excuse him for declining it; stating, that neither his Health, nor his Frame of Mind, were adequate to the extended Duties of the Metropolitan See, though equal to fulfilling the more limited Functions of his own Diocese. His Majesty having, not without great Reluctance, yielded to these Reasons, then insisted that the Bishop should at least name the Person, whom he conceived most proper to succeed Dr. Cornwallis. Hurd, without long Hesitation, mentioned Dr. Louth, Bishop of London; and a Messenger was instantly dispatched to find him, at his House in St. James's Square. The Bishop arriving in a very short Time, had no sooner entered the Closet, than the King made him the same Proposition which he had done to Hurd. Extraordinary as it may appear, he met from that Prelate with a similar Refusal; and one

not less sincere, as well as inflexible, than the former. In this unexpected Predicament, the King addressing himself to them both, said, "My Lords, I will not press "either of you further: but, before you leave "this Room, you must recommend a proper "Successor to the deceased Archbishop; "and whomsoever you shall agree to Name, "I will accept." The two Prelates having requested to be allowed a short Time for consulting together, after a few Minutes' Deliberation, without quitting the Royal Presence, united in nominating Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Bangor. Being sent for to St. James's, on his Arrival, to his no small Astonishment, he learned the Reasons for which he had been summoned to Court. He accepted the Preferment; but, the requisite Forms incident to the *Congé d'elire*, and other Ceremonies indispensable to the Election, prevented the Translation from being completed before the second of the following Month;—the very Day on which the King having surrendered at Discretion, the *Coalition* actually took Possession of the Government.

Dr. Moore, whom we have beheld during

two and twenty Years, Archbishop of Canterbury; and who owed his Elevation to that high Dignity, to the joint Recommendations of Hurd and Louth; was a Prelate of an irreproachable Life, added to a solid Understanding. But, his first Advance in the ecclesiastical Profession, arose from one of those Accidents, which, (whatever Juvenal may have said to the contrary,) sometimes seem to determine, no less than Merit, the Colour of our Fate. The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, after the late Duke's Decease in 1758, having Occasion for a Tutor to superintend the Education of her youngest Son, the present Lord Robert Spencer; applied to the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, requesting him to recommend a proper Person to her for the Purpose. I have been assured, that Mr. Moore, then a Servitor of that College, of very obscure Birth and Connexions; happening to cross the Quadrangle, at the precise Moment of this Application; it immediately occurred to the Dean's Mind, that he would answer the Description of the Tutor demanded by the Duchess. He hesitated nevertheless for some Time, whether he should make the Proposition to Mr. Moore; her Grace having posi-

tively insisted on his stipulating, that whatever Individual she should receive into her Family, in Quality of Preceptor to her Son, should not be admitted to have the Honour of dining at her Table. The Offer, when made by the Dean, was however accepted under that Exclusion: but, so rapid became Mr. Moore's Progress in her personal Esteem, no less than in her Affection, that within a very short Time she found herself unable to dine without him. Her Preference assumed even so decided a Character, as to leave him no Room to doubt of her Inclination, if he had encouraged it, notwithstanding the prodigious Disparity of their respective Situations in Life; to have bestowed her Hand on him in Marriage. Instead of thus acting, as a Man of narrow or selfish Views would have done, his Sense of Honour and Delicacy of Sentiment, led him to communicate the Advances made him by the Duchess, to her Son, the late Duke. A Conduct so highly disinterested, and Principles so elevated, could not fail ultimately to meet their just Reward. By the Duke of Marlborough's Interest, being promoted in the Church, he was in Progress of Time made Dean of Canterbury; from which Situation he soon be-

came Bishop of Bangor: passing through no other intermediate Episcopal Stage, till he attained to the Metropolitan Dignity. Such an Impression indeed had his Merit and Character produced, while he remained at Canterbury, that on his Promotion to the See of Bangor, all those Persons who came to take Leave of him, expressed their full Conviction of his returning to them again as Archbishop. "We console ourselves, Mr. "Dean," said they, "for losing you at pre- "sent, by the confident Expectation which "we entertain of your speedy Restoration "to us." I return to the Course of public Affairs.

On the complete Failure of the first Attempt already mentioned, which His Majesty made to form a new Administration; many Propositions were suggested to prop and renovate the still existing Ministry, however difficult such a Work might justly be esteemed under the actual Circumstances. Mr. Pitt, desirous to meet the King's Wishes on a Point, which coincided with all his own Objects of personal Elevation and Ambition; suffered himself to be persuaded to promise that he would accept the Post of

First Lord of the Treasury, in Addition to the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: and during twenty-four Hours, he might be said to have in some Measure actually held both those Offices. But, at the End of a short Time, finding it impracticable, after full Examination, to set up any Government which promised Duration, or which could make Head against the *Coalition* in the House of Commons, he reluctantly retracted his Engagement. Reduced almost to Despair by so many Disappointments, and unable to effect his Emancipation, the King unquestionably meditated the extraordinary Project of visiting his Electoral Dominions, and relinquishing for a Time to the *Coalition*, the Power of which they had forcibly possessed themselves. But, on communicating his Intentions to the Chancellor, that Minister, far from encouraging the Proposition, gave it his strongest Disapprobation. "There is nothing easier, Sir," said he, with his characteristic Severity of Voice and Manner, "than to go over to Hanover. It may "not however prove so easy to return from "thence to this Country, when your Majes- "ty becomes tired of Germany. Recollect "the Precedent of James the Second, who

"precipitately embraced a similar Expedi-
"ent. Your Majesty must not think for a
"Moment, of adopting so imprudent and
"hazardous a Step. Time and Patience will
"open a Remedy to the present Evils." The King, happily for himself, acquiesced in Lord Thurlow's wise and wholesome Advice.

[24th March.] While these interesting Scenes passed at St. James's, the House of Commons, completely in the Hands of the *Coalition*, proceeded, though with great apparent Caution and external Testimonies of Respect, to press the Sovereign by every constitutional Means, that he would put an End to the Interregnum; which Fox denominated in the strong Language familiar to him, "the most insolent Domination that "ever disgraced a free Country." Mr. Coke, after repeated Delays, having moved an Address to His Majesty, entreating him "to form an Administration entitled to the Confidence of the People;" one of the most interesting Conversations, rather than Debates, took Place, at which I ever assisted; near four Hundred Persons being present. It was opened by the Member for Norfolk, in mild and temperate Language: but, the

Earl of Surrey, who seconded the Motion, did not observe equal Delicacy or Reserve in his Expressions, which, as I thought, had always a Tincture in them, of Democracy. "I admit," said he, "that a high Respect is due to the Sovereign; but, not less Respect is due to the People.—It is impossible to go on longer without a Government; and therefore, exceptionable as the present Motion may be, I shall support it, because I am convinced, if this House does not call for an Administration, the People will demand it in a Manner painful to the Crown, and injurious to the public Interests." Various Individuals having inveighed in animated Terms, against the *Coalition*, Fox rose in Order to justify the Measure, and at the same Time to state his Opinions on the actual Condition of the Country. "Whatever," observed Fox, "may be His Majesty's private Feelings or Opinions at the present Moment, when all Government is suspended, he never can act wrong, unless he is ill advised. It becomes therefore proper to declare from whom he could receive that injurious Advice; and the Channel through which it comes, cannot be Matter of Doubt. The Nation has now remained

" near five Weeks, in a State without Prece-
" dent, and without ostensible Ministers."—
" If ever there was a Time that imperiously
" demanded the Oblivion of former Animosi-
" ties and ancient Prejudices, it is the present
" Moment. The Situation of the Country ren-
" ders indispensable, a Coalition of Parties;
" and in Order to attain an Object so saluta-
" ry, by composing an Administration on a
" broad, as well as a permanent Basis, *I am*
" *ready to shake Hands even with the Persons*
" *opposite to me, no less than with the noble*
" *Lord in the blue Ribband near me; thus*
" *forming out of the three Parties, such a Go-*
" *vernment as the Public may regard with*
" *Confidence.*" Having denied in the strongest Terms, that the Delay in composing a new Administration, had arisen from any Disputes between the two Heads of Parties recently united; he launched out into severe Reflections, or more properly to speak, Accusations, against the Individuals who during more than a Month had governed the Country. " A Government," continued Fox, " not conducted by avowed Ministers,
" by a First Lord of the Treasury, or by Se-
" cretaries of State, those Instruments and
" Puppets of other Agents: but, by the

" Persons themselves, who have hitherto
" been supposed to possess secret Influence,
" and who now stand forward, as the private
" Advisers of His Majesty to act in Opposi-
" tion to the Wishes of his People, and to
" the declared Sense of one House of Par-
" liament."

Even if the Intention of these Words, could have been mistaken, Fox, by fixing his Eyes on Jenkinson, who was present when he pronounced them, rendered their Application obvious to every Hearer. Then alluding to the Chancellor, " If," continued he, " we would know who has governed the " Kingdom, and ill advised the Sovereign, " we have only to repair to the upper " House. There, the great Adviser may be " seen in his true Character. We shall there " find Sullenness, Delay, Impediments to " public Business of every Kind, and all the " Features that characterize the present In-" terregnum." Charges so invidious, as well as personal, were not suffered to remain without an immediate Reply. Governor Johnstone starting up as soon as Fox had concluded; with his characteristic Impetuosity of Gesture and Language, retorted on

Fox the Imputations with which he had loaded Lord Thurlow. After passing the highest Encomiums on the Talents, Firmness, and Integrity of that great Law Officer, whom, he said, he considered us one of the Pillars of the State; he reminded Fox of the Eulogiums which he had pronounced on this very Nobleman, when composing a Member of Lord North's Administration. "Did he not then declare," exclaimed Johnstone, "that the Chancellor formed the "only Exception to the Cabinet of that Pe-"riod; who alone ought, from his superior "Endowments of Mind and of Character, to "be continued in his high Office, after the "Dissolution of that Ministry?" With more Temper, Calmness, and Command of himself, Jenkinson vindicated the Line of Conduct which he had held under the existing Circumstances. He was heard with general and profound Attention. "I stand up," said he, "to refute the Insinuation of being "an evil Adviser of His Majesty, and to "deny the Existence of secret Influence be-"hind the Throne, in the unwarrantable "Sense of those Expressions. But, the "Prerogative of the Crown is not so limited, "as to proscribe any Privy Counsellor from

" having Access to the Presence of the So-
" vereign, or to preclude him from offering
" his Advice, if called on to deliver his Opi-
" nion. If His Majesty is graciously pleased
" to command my Attendance, I am com-
" pelled in Duty to obey the Summons. I
" confess that during the last five Weeks, I
" have been with him more than once. I ne-
" ver went, except on official Business; nor
" did I ever use any secret Influence. That
" Idea is only a Trap for the credulous
" Multitude. It exists solely in Imagina-
" tion, and is now started merely for politi-
" cal Purposes, to which the Members of
" this House cannot be Strangers."—" I ap-
" peal to the noble Lord in the blue Rib-
" band, seated near the Right Honorable
" Gentleman, with whom I had the Honour
" of serving for ten Years; whether my As-
" sertion is true or false; and whether that
" pretended secret Influence so insidiously
" suggested, ever had any real Existence.
" Not only do I appeal to the noble Lord,
" but, I invoke him to declare it; and so im-
" plicit is my Reliance on his innate Princi-
" ples of Honour, that I submit to abide by
" his Determination."

Convincing as this Defence may be esteemed, and as I regard it, yet Fox by no Means acquiesced in the Truth or Solidity of its Reasoning. "I admit," said he in Reply, "that in his Capacity of a Privy Coun-"sellor, the Right Honorable Member is en-"titled to offer the King his Advice. He "has a Right so to do: but, *not to give it* "*in Secret.* There lies the Rub. Let the "Advice be public, and in the Face of the "Council. There can then be neither Cause "of Suspicion, nor can it be productive of "Injury. As the Matter stands, it assumes "a widely different Aspect." Lord North, when called upon by Jenkinson, could not remain silent. In the Progress of a Speech conceived with great Ability, and tempered by the Suavity of his Disposition, he endeavoured to justify his Union with Fox, as being an Act founded on public Expediency, if not absolute Necessity. "Those Per-"sons," observed he, "who reprobate the "present Coalition, forget that it is almost "impossible to find in this Assembly, any "Individuals now acting together, who have "not differed materially on great and im-"portant Points. The Administration ex-

"isting,—if we can be said to have any;—"is so composed. And when it is consi-"dered that there are three great Parties in "the Nation, two must unite, in Order to "form a Coalition. All Men seem to agree, "that an Administration ought to be con-"stituted on as broad a Basis as possible. "Perhaps it is meant *a Ministry composed* "*of all the three Parties. If such be their* "*Meaning, I have not any Objection to* "*coincide with them in Opinion.* The di-"vided and distracted state of the Empire, "demands a Combination of all eminent "Abilities." Alluding finally to the Appeal made by Mr. Jenkinson, "I am called on," added he, "by a Friend, to declare whether, "during my Administration, I ever found "any secret Influence lurking behind the "Throne, subversive of my Measures or In-"tentions. *I will freely avow that I never* "*did.* I have frequently, while in Office, "received Advice from that Right Honor-"able Gentleman: but I never knew that he "had given any secret Advice to his Sove-"reign, which he was not ready publicly to "justify, if the Occasion demanded it." No Declaration could be less equivocal, nor better calculated to undeceive the Believers

in secret Influence. But, the Opinion, which dated from a very early Period of the King's Reign, had taken too deep a Hold of the public Mind, and was sustained with too much Art, to be eradicated, although by such Testimonies. Even at the present Day, that Conviction is by no Means extinct.

Pitt may be said to have terminated the Discussion under our Review; and never, not even on the 21st of the preceding Month, when on the Point of laying down his official Situation, did he appear to me more an Object of just Admiration! Lord North and Fox having formed their political Union, had, both, successively, in the Course of addressing the House on that Evening, offered to receive him into their Coalition. It rested with *Him* to have composed one of the new *Triumvirate*, in which he assuredly would not have occupied the meanest Place. He might have continued at the Head of the Exchequer under the Duke of Portland, as he had been under Lord Shelburne. The Odium of the *Coalition* could not have attached to *Him*, who had not contributed in the most remote Degree to its Formation.

Power, and Office, and the Emoluments of Place, lay open to him, and seemed to solicit his Acceptance: while, on the other Side, he beheld the thorny Path of the Law, or a more sterile and unproductive Attendance on Parliament, as his only certain Resources. From his official and splendid Residence in Downing Street, he must remove to Chambers in one of the Inns of Court. His Fortune was narrow, and his Ambition immeasurable. Yet, placed in a Situation so trying to human Nature, his elevated Mind, superior to Circumstances, aided by a Judgment far beyond his Years, enabled him to appreciate, and to reject, the glittering Proposition. Perhaps he foresaw that an Alliance, such as had been made between two Heads of Party so discordant;—an Alliance equally odious to the Sovereign, and to the Majority of the Nation;—however apparently solid might be its Foundations, could prove of no Duration. Probably he even anticipated, at no remote Distance of Time, his own future ministerial Triumph over the two new Allies. Yet even admitting these Facts, his Line of Conduct does not excite less Astonishment, nor detract from his pre-eminent Merit.

In his Reply to the Offers of the two Coalition Chiefs, he seemed to be impelled and animated by Feelings of a higher Description than mere Power could satisfy, unless accompanied by Self-Approbation, and conscious Rectitude. "There are Persons," said he, "who can easily reconcile to their "Minds, the Sacrifice of old Principles, "and who with Ease adopt new Rules of "Conduct. However such Modes of acting, "may agree with tried Constitutions and "long Habits of Change, I am as yet too "young to relinquish my Opinions, and to "conform my Ideas to the Tide of Interest, "or to the Triumphs of Party. I have "formed one great Principle which regulates "my Conduct, and which has taken too "deep Root in my Bosom, to be erased "even by myself. The Honorable Gentlemen on the opposite Benches, talk of extinguishing Animosities, and modifying or "changing their political Opinions, just as "they would change their Gloves. The "same Acts or Measures which to-day they "reprobate, tomorrow they applaud. Those "Persons, whom in the Morning they hate "and condemn, they esteem it honorable, "conscientious, and patriotic, to take to

" their Bosom in the Evening. Such " Maxims are repugnant to my Nature. I " cannot coalesce with Men, whose Senti- " ments are diametrically opposed to my " own; because, if they come over to my " Ways of thinking, I can place no Confi- " dence in them; and if I were to adopt " their Principles, I should act against my " honest Judgment. Parties, so constituted, " can have no long Continuance. There " may be a seeming Harmony, while their " Interests point the same Road: but, only " a Similarity of Ideas can render political " Friendships permanent."—" I therefore," continued he, " think it indispensable for me " explicitly to declare, that *I cannot induce* " *myself to adopt the Mode of Reasoning,* " *by which the present grand Coalition is* " *defended or justified; and that my Prin-* " *ciples will not conform themselves to the* " *present Times.*" I was a Witness of the involuntary Applause extorted by this lofty and disinterested Declaration, which at once extinguished every Hope of Pitt's uniting with the *Coalition.* He preferred to reserve himself for future Occasions of coming forward in public Life, rather than to purchase present Office, by the Dereliction of those

Rules of Action, which he had laid down for his Guidance, in, and out of Parliament. No Reply to so hostile and decided an Avowal, was made by either of the Opposition Chiefs: but, Mr. Coke's proposed Address to the Throne, being put, was carried, though not unanimously, yet without any Division.

[25th—31st March.] His Majesty, nevertheless, having given a vague and inexplicit Answer to the Address, by which no Information was in Fact conveyed relative to the Appointment of new Ministers, Lord Surrey agitated the Subject again on the 27th; and after complaining of the injurious Consequences that resulted to the State, from a Suspension of all Government, concluded by a Notice, or rather a Menace, that, if the vacant Offices were not filled up within four Days, he would move for an Enquiry into the Causes of such Delay. Lord North, on the other Hand, deprecated all Interference in the present State of the Business, as disrespectful to the Sovereign, whose gracious Message claimed, he said, the Gratitude of the House. The Month of March meanwhile rapidly approached its Termina-

tion; nor was it till the 31st, that the King, having exhausted every Effort for reconstructing an Administration, of which Pitt would have formed the Head; finding the Experiment hopeless, as well as impracticable, reluctantly accepted his Resignation. Lord Surrey rising in his Place on that Day, just at the Time when Pitt entered the House, instantly demanded of him, whether any new Ministers were yet appointed, or what Steps had been taken for the Purpose? His Reply, which informed the House that he was no longer Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave Rise to a Conversation of no common Interest, and of considerable Length, during which, many curious Facts were communicated from various Sides of the Assembly. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, as an Excuse for the long Period of Time which had elapsed since the Resignation of the first Lord of the Treasury; ingenuously avowed that his Majesty had fully designed to place Mr. Pitt in that Office, and to form a new Government under his Auspices:—a Determination which the King had only relinquished within two Hours of the Moment when he was occupied in addressing the House. A Declara-

tion so mortifying to the *Coalition*, did not pass unnoticed or uncensured by Fox. After inveighing indirectly against Pitt, as the principal Cause of so culpable a Suspension of the Functions of Government; and stating that while he remained at the Head of the Exchequer, he must be held responsible for every Measure performed in his official Capacity; Fox seized the Occasion offered, to renew the Charge of secret Influence against Mr. Jenkinson.

Sir William Dolben, when alluding to the Mention which had already been made of that pretended Interference, in the Course of a late Debate; having observed that he should call for more than mere Insinuation or Assertion, to convince him of its Reality; Fox triumphantly appealed to Jenkinson's own Admission. "The Fact," exclaimed he, "at which, down to the present Time, "Suspicion has only glanced, Exultation "has avowed. I have not only learned "more than I antecedently knew, but, more "than I ever expected to have heard. I "have learned that a Privy Counsellor, "though he is not a Minister, may offer his "Sovereign Advice, and not be accountable

"for its Effects. Surely, this House will "never sanction a Doctrine so replete with "Danger to the State. How are we to "know the Nature of the Advice given, ex- "cept by its Effects? And if that Right "Honorable Gentleman has given Advice "to His Majesty in the present Instance, "*He* is the culpable Person. The noble "Lord in the blue Ribband, near me, when "called on by him, on a recent Occasion, to "declare whether he ever found any of his "Plans or Measures frustrated by a con- "cealed Influence, answered, I allow, in the "Negative. But, it must be remembered "that the Individual in Question, was a "Friend and Supporter of that Administra- "tion. What would the Consequence be, "if a Ministry, whose Views and Principles "were opposed to his; should find their "Objects subverted, and all their Projects "overturned, by a Person not in any Way "responsible for his Advice? How could "they act in such a Case? A virtuous Ad- "ministration would have no other Alterna- "tive, than to signify their Disapprobation of "the Interference, by the Resignation of their "Employments." I confess that these Obser-

vations have always appeared to me, to grow out of the British Constitution, which demands, as a primary Principle, Responsibility. Pitt offered no Reply to that Part of Fox's Speech; but he reiterated in the most decisive Terms, his fixed Determination to hold himself wholly unconnected with any political Description of Men. "I "will abide," said he, "by the Declaration "which I made on a former Occasion. I "will take no active Part, either for, or "against any Party; but, shall be wholly "guided in my Conduct, by the Measures "pursued. It will not be without the ut-"most Reluctance, that I shall oppose any "Administration whatever; nor will I do it, "unless impelled by a strong Conviction of "their acting injuriously to the public In-"terests." Having stated that he held himself responsible for every Act performed by him as Chancellor of the Exchequer, down to the Moment of his Resignation, he concluded by deprecating Lord Surrey's Motion, as precipitate, and recommending that it should be withdrawn without a Division.

Lord North was by no means silent during this interesting Debate, the last which

took Place on the State of public Affairs, in the lower House of Parliament, previous to the *Coalition* assuming Possession of the Government. With equal Eloquence and Ability he endeavoured to shew, that the Arguments urged against a Junction of Parties, on the Ground of antecedent Differences of Opinion, were futile, and incapable of being maintained by Men of Candour, or of enlarged Minds. He must nevertheless have felt, how much more dignified and elevated was his Position, while holding the Balance, as he might in some Measure be said to do, between Pitt and Fox, than when merged in the Vortex of the latter Luminary. Of the Loss that he sustained in public Opinion by joining the Rockingham Party, he received many painful Intimations. Governor Johnstone observed during the Debate of the 24th of March, that "the noble Lord in "the blue Ribband, till within the last few "Weeks, enjoyed as much of the national "Confidence, as any Individual in the King-"dom. His Character, as it became more "generally understood, acquired daily more "Respect and Strength: but," added Johnstone, "*the present Coalition has unques-*

" *tionably shaken him in the Estimation of* " *many of his Friends.*" Sir William Dolben, of whose cordial Support, Lord North must have felt the deepest Sense, as it was given him during the most critical Period of his Administration; expressed himself on the Evening of the 31st of March, in equally intelligible Language. After *catechizing*, if I may use the Term, Lord North, respecting the Conditions, which, it was commonly supposed, the new Allies attempted to dictate to the King, before they would take Office; and hearing that Nobleman's indignant Denial of the imputed Facts;—Sir William, while he manifested his Dissatisfaction at the bare Idea of invading the constitutional Prerogative of the Sovereign, added, " The independent Country Gentlemen, who " have uniformly supported the noble Lord " in the blue Ribband, have done it from " Approbation of his Principles, not from " his political Power or Influence. If there- " fore he expects a Continuance of their " Support, after his Junction with the Party " which so long opposed him; *he must act* " *in a Manner consistent with his former* " *Character and Professions.*"

Fox, aided by Burke, exerted all his Powers of Persuasion, in proving to the House, the insuperable Necessity of his coalescing with Lord North. Endeavouring to enforce a Doctrine so indispensable for his own Justification, he observed, "The principal Cause of our Dispute, has been done "away by the Termination of the American "War. On various other Points we still "differ; but we are not more at Variance "than the present Chancellor, and the Master-General of the Ordnance; or than the "Secretary of State for the Southern, and the "Secretary for the Northern Department; "or than the Right Honorable Gentleman "opposite me, (Pitt,) and the learned Lord "his Friend, (Dundas,) seated near him, "have differed in Sentiment upon great constitutional Points. This Country can only "flourish, her Glory can only be maintained, "or her Commerce be preserved, by Unanimity within these Walls." However just or solid such Principles may be in themselves, their Application in the Persons of Lord North and Fox, did not obtain general Approbation. Even among those who supported, many disapproved or condemned their Union. An Oblivion of all past Recri-

minations, though it might be dictated by Ambition, and vindicated by Policy, yet seemed to imply a mutual Sacrifice of Principle. Both the Heads of Party lost much of their Popularity; and their Possession of Power, neither reposing on royal Favour, nor on the Approbation of the People, proved to be without any deep Foundation. These Reflections were however obliterated by present Success. Lord Surrey, having been induced to withdraw his Motion, on the Presumption that a Ministry would be formed in the Course of a very few Days, the House adjourned. Nor were those Expectations frustrated:—for, within forty-eight Hours afterwards, His Majesty, finding it vain to protract his Resistance, and impossible to set up any Administration with a Chance of Success; surrendered at Discretion, by sending a second Time for the Duke of Portland.

[2d April.] If we consider, by the Abstract Principles of the British Constitution, as recognized at the Revolution of 1688, which compels the Sovereign to listen to the Voice of the Majority of the House of Commons; the Conduct of George the Third, in

resisting for near six Weeks, their Votes, and their Addresses:—if we reflect moreover, that the Consequence of his Pertinacity, produced a Suspension of many of the essential and vital Functions of the Executive Government; at a Moment too, when the Exertions of a vigorous Administration were peculiarly demanded, in order to reduce various of the Military and Naval Establishments, to the Standard of Peace:—if we try his Actions by these Criterions, we may be tempted to accuse him of sacrificing national Objects, to the Gratification of his private Resentments or Prejudices. But, Speculation and Practice often lead to such opposite Conclusions, that it becomes unsafe to reason always from the former, however solid may appear the Foundations. It is certain, that though the Country anxiously desired to see an efficient Government established, and deeply lamented the Want of it for so long a Time; yet, the King by no means suffered in the Estimation of his People at large, on Account of the desperate Contest that he had maintained against the *Coalition.*

The Nation in general regarded the Union

formed between Lord North and Fox, as a mutual Sacrifice of moral and political Principle, to Ambition, or rather, to the Love of Office. In vain did those Leaders endeavour to justify it, by recurring to past Periods of our History, in particular, to the Year 1757, when similar Coalitions were known to have been made between contending Factions. The Interval of eleven Months, which had scarcely elapsed since Fox and Burke were accustomed, Day by Day, to denounce their new Ally, as the most incapable, subservient, and criminal of Ministers, appeared too short; and the Transition from Enmity to Friendship, seemed too sudden, to admit of being easily or satisfactorily explained to vulgar Comprehension. His Majesty's Principles, however mistaken they might be, were admitted to be upright, and intentionally directed always to the Felicity of his Subjects. America, which had so long formed the Object of Contest, being lost; with the Termination of the War, terminated likewise the King's Unpopularity, which had principally originated from that Source:—while, on the other Hand, Fox, who during several Years had stood so high in the Estimation of the People, as a Patriot; now

in his Turn attracted severe Observations on his recent Junction with a Minister, the Author, as he asserted, of all the Misfortunes which he had eloquently depictured, and which were still deplored throughout the Country. These Sentiments and Opinions, which began already to operate, and which only required Time to mature, protected the King against any Effects of popular Disapprobation. But, they could not prevent, or longer protract his Surrender to the combined Leaders, who now compelled him to receive them into his Counsels, without further Delay.

In the Audience that he gave the Duke of Portland, for the Purpose of forming a new Administration, he did not affect to conceal, or even to disguise, the painful Emotions by which he was agitated on the Occasion. He observed to that Nobleman, that the ministerial Arrangement to which he now submitted, being altogether compulsory, the new Ministers might dispose of the Cabinet Places and other Offices, as they should think proper: that he would not oppose, or refuse his Signature, to any Act presented to him officially for his Sanction; but, that the Re-

sponsibility of advising such Measures, must wholly rest with them. And he added, that he would not create any new British Peers, at their Recommendation; a Circumstance, of which he gave them distinct, and early Notification. The *Coalition* having acquiesced, at least tacitly, in these avowed Principles of the King's Conduct, took Possession of the Government; the Duke of Portland being placed at the Head of the Treasury; and Lord John Cavendish a second Time becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fox returned to the Foreign Office, as was naturally to be expected; leaving to Lord North, the Secretaryship of State for the Home Department. Lord Keppel, who, disapproving of the Conditions of the late Peace, had resigned the Post of First Lord of the Admiralty, immediately after its Conclusion, in which high Employment he had been replaced by Lord Howe; was reinstated in his ancient Functions: while Lord Stormont became President of the Council. I have been assured that the Nobleman last mentioned, did not accept that Situation, till he had clearly understood, as he conceived, the King's Pleasure upon the Subject; who not only approved, but, wished him to take the

Office, as it would exclude an Enemy from occupying so important a Place. Yet it is difficult to reconcile this asserted Permission and Approbation, with the Resentment that His Majesty is known to have subsequently expressed, at Lord Stormont's thus actively joining the *Coalition*. The Privy Seal was lastly given to the Earl of Carlisle.

By this new Ministerial Arrangement, the Cabinet, which, under Lord North had consisted of *nine* Individuals; and which, under the two succeeding Administrations, was augmented to *eleven*; became reduced to *seven* Persons. At first Inspection, there seemed however to be something like an equal Distribution of Power, between the two Leaders and Parties who had recently coalesced; the Rockingham Party reckoning *four*, and their new Allies counting *three* Votes. But, on closer Examination, the Fallacy became palpable, and it was evident that Fox in Reality possessed the whole Authority of Government. Not only he commanded a numerical Majority: he likewise held the Treasury under his complete Influence. Nor was this the single Circumstance, that gave him a preponderating

Weight in every Measure or Deliberation. The Energy and Activity of his Talents, when contrasted with the Flexibility and Indolence of Lord North, doubled his personal, as well as political Consequence. His three Friends in the Cabinet, were moreover incapable, if they had even been desirous, of setting Limits to his Ambition, or of restraining his Ascendancy. To Fox, the Duke of Portland might indeed be said to owe his Elevation to the Post of First Lord of the Treasury; an Eminence, to which his own very moderate Abilities, though sustained by his high Rank, could not of themselves have conducted him. In like Manner, Lord Keppel stood indebted for both his Place and his Peerage, principally to Fox. Lord John Cavendish, from his great hereditary Connexions, and recognized Integrity of Character, might be esteemed, it is true, an Honor and an Ornament to any Ministry: but, though independent in Mind and in Fortune, yet he appeared to be not the less under Fox's intellectual Dominion, who on all Occasions propelled and guided him, in, and out of Parliament. Lord North, on the contrary, by no means possessed, or exerted, the same Influence over his two Ca-

binet Adherents, as Fox maintained among his Co-adjutors: Lord Stormont in particular, might be considered as wholly independent of Lord North's Controul. Nor did the Offices of President of the Council, and of Privy Seal, in themselves confer the same active Rights of Ministerial Interference, as did the Treasury, the Exchequer, and the Admiralty; all which Departments lay in Fox's Partition of Employments. These Circumstances are not unessential, when we speculate on the State of public Affairs under the Duümvirs; and may partly explain the Causes, from which arose some of the most affirmative Measures, subsequently adopted by the *Coalition*.

If Fox, however, took effectual Care to secure the real Power of the State in his own Hands, he in Return allowed Lord North to bestow many of the great ostensible Situations about the Court, among his immediate Friends. The Earl of Dartmouth, instead of Privy Seal, the Cabinet Office that he had formerly held, was made Lord Steward: while the Earl of Hertford appeared again in the Drawing Room, reinvested with his white Wand of Lord Cham-

berlain. Lord Townsend, restored to his ancient Employment, replaced the Duke of Richmond at the Head of the Ordnance. He was a Nobleman of very considerable Ability, but, of great Eccentricity of Manners and Character, which seemed sometimes to approach almost to Alienation of Mind. Cheerful in his Disposition, void of all Pride or Affectation, communicative, affable, convivial, facetious, and endowed with uncommon Powers of Conversation, he was formed to acquire Popularity. He eminently possessed the dangerous Talent of drawing Caricatures; a Faculty which he did not always restrain within the Limits of severe Prudence, though he no more spared himself, than he did others. It is well known that he drew his own Portrait, habited in the State Dress of Lord Lieutenant, having his Hands tied behind him, in Order to shew how destitute he was of political Power, or of the Means of conferring Favours. This allegorical Picture, I have been assured, was hung up in a private Cabinet of the Castle at Dublin; and when solicited to bestow Offices or Rewards, over which he had no Controul, he used to conduct the importunate Suitor into the Room;

at the same Time asking him if he recognized the Likeness, and understood the Application. In Ireland, while administering the Affairs of that Kingdom during five Years, he gave general Satisfaction; and I remember Courtenay eulogizing him in the House of Commons, in the Language which Horace uses to Augustus.

> " Longas, o utinam, Dux bone, Ferias
> Præstes *Hiberniæ*; dicimus integro
> Sicei manè Die, dicimus uvidi,
> Quum Sol Oceano subest."

Indeed, not one of the Viceroys sent over to Dublin in the Course of twelve Years, between 1772 and 1784, could compete with Lord Townsend in the Affection of the Irish. Lord Harcourt was too grave and measured in his Manners; the Earl of Buckinghamshire had too cold, stiff, and lofty a Deportment; Lord Carlisle was too fine a Gentleman, and too highly bred; the Duke of Portland and Earl Temple, both, either from Disinclination, or from physical Inability, observed too rigorously the Virtues of Temperance and Abstemiousness; Virtues by no Means congenial to the Soil:—lastly, Lord Northington was too infirm in his Health, to acquire general Attachment in a

Country, where no Qualities, however eminent or meritorious, could recommend to national Approbation, unless accompanied by personal Sacrifices and Exertions of various Kinds. The Duke of Rutland, whom Pitt sent over to the Sister Kingdom, early in 1784; by the Magnificence of his Establishment, the Conviviality of his Temper, and the Excesses of his Table; in all which Particulars he resembled his Father, the Marquis of Granby;—obliterated or superseded Lord Townsend in their Regard: but, he paid for the Triumph with his Life, falling a Victim in the Vigor of his Age, within four Years, to his Irregularities.

Mr Charles Townsend, commonly called "Spanish Charles," from the Circumstance of his having formerly acted as Secretary to the English Embassy at Madrid; and whom Pitt created with nine other Individuals, a Peer, in 1797, by the Title of Lord Bayning; was made Treasurer of the Navy. Wallace though labouring under ill Health, became once more Attorney General. Lord Sandwich, whose Wants made Office essential to him;—instead of presiding over the Admiralty, and directing that great Department of State, dwindled into Ranger of the two

Parks: but, as some Compensation for this official Degradation, his Son, Lord Hinchinbrook, a Nobleman deservedly acceptable to his Majesty, as well as one of the most honest, loyal, frank, and friendly Men in the Kingdom,—for I had the Honour to enjoy his Friendship;—was made Master of the Buck Hounds. If he fell much below his Father, in Ability, Application, and Talents for public Business, he possessed greater private Virtues. Sir Grey Cooper, who had been one of the joint Secretaries of the Treasury, obtained a Seat at the Board. Not that Fox appeared by any Means oblivious of his Friends; a Fault which never could be imputed to him. Burke went back with great Alacrity, to the Pay Office; as did his Brother, Richard Burke, to the joint Secretaryship of the Treasury. Mr. Frederick Montagu resumed his Place at that Board: while the Earl of Surrey, whose recent Services and prominent Merit in Parliament, (where he never shrunk from any Exertion, however rough or personal,) could not be passed over without Remuneration, filled the remaining Vacancy. Considerably more than two Centuries had elapsed, since the gallant and distinguished Earl of that Name,

so well known under Henry the Eighth; the last who bore the Title, had occupied a Situation in the Councils of the Crown.

Colonel Fitzpatrick was made Secretary at War: and though his Talents always appeared to me, to be of a Description more elegant than solid; more adapted to entertain and delight, than fitted for the Desk, or for the Cabinet; yet I have been assured, even by those who were not partial to him among his own Profession, that he gave great, as well as general Satisfaction, while he held that Employment. His Person, tall, manly, and extremely distinguished; set off by his Manners, which, though lofty and assuming, were nevertheless elegant and prepossessing;—these Endowments added Grace to the Attractions of his Conversation. No Man's Society was more eagerly courted among the highest Orders, by Persons of both Sexes. He possessed no mean poetic Talents, peculiarly for Compositions of Wit, Fancy, and Satire, in all which he far exceeded Fox. The Marriage of his Sister with Stephen, Lord Holland, cemented their Intimacy. They had been brought up together from early Life, remained inseparable to the last, and were strongly attached

to each other. Fitzpatrick, like his Friend, was a constant Votary of Brookes's Club, and became during many Years, a Victim to Play; but he possessed one Advantage over Fox, namely the Support arising from a Profession. As a Member of the House of Commons, he obtained no Distinction for Eloquence; though he never betrayed, when addressing Parliament, any Want of Ideas, Language, or Ability. Under Charles the Second, he would have been more in his Element and in his Place, than under such a Prince as George the Third; of whose Court, he must nevertheless always be considered to have formed a Constellation and an Ornament. In the "*Mémoires de Grammont*" he would assuredly have filled a very distinguished Niche. I witnessed the Spectacle of his surviving many of the personal and intellectual Graces, which Nature had conferred on him with so lavish a Hand. During the last Months of his Life, weakened by the Progress of Diseases which enfeebled his Frame, though perhaps without impairing his Powers of Understanding; it might be in some Degree said of Fitzpatrick, as the King of Prussia observes of Prince Eugene in the Trenches before Philipsburgh

in 1734, "*Ce n'étoit plus que l'Ombre du grand Eugene.*"

Sheridan became the other Secretary of the Treasury, and Lee was replaced in his former Situation of Solicitor General. For the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, the Earl of Northington was selected by Fox. His Person, unwieldy, vacillating, and destitute of Grace, seemed to disqualify him for any active Exertions of Body; nor were his Faculties brilliant: but I have always heard that he gave great Satisfaction, and was as much beloved, as his Infirmities permitted, during the Period of his short Residence in that Kingdom. The Embassy to Paris, Fox destined for the Duke of Manchester. His Figure, which was noble; his Manners, affable and corresponding with his high Rank, prepossessed in his Favor: but his Fortune bore no Proportion to his Dignity. Though a Man of very dissipated Habits, and unaccustomed to diplomatic Business, he did not want Talents. Such were the leading Arrangements made by the "Coalition," on their coming into Power. The Great Seal, which no Expostulations on the Part of the King, could induce them to leave in Thurlow's Hands, and which Wedderburn

wisely declined accepting under the Circumstances of the Time, was put into Commission; Lord Loughborough being placed at its Head. He constituted a valuable Acquisition to the new Ministry in the House of Peers.

Lord North, it must be reluctantly confessed, however Circumstances may justify his Union with Fox, on Principles of Policy, of personal Safety, or of Necessity; did not perform in this great Drama, the most dignified Part. After having occupied the Post of First Minister, at the Head of both the Treasury and the Exchequer, for twelve Sessions; it seemed to ordinary Observers, no little Degradation, at more than fifty Years of Age, to accept the Secretaryship of State for the Home Department; and to take his Seat as such, on the Treasury Bench where he had so long presided, now squeezed between Fox and Burke. I own, that I never contemplated him in that Situation, without Reflections allied to Pity. It is true that we have since seen, and still actually behold, an Ex-first Minister placed in the same Department, after having presided at the Helm during more than three Years. But, it would be invidious, and it is unnecessary, to draw

any Comparison between the two Individuals. Neither their Descent, the Period of their respective Administrations, nor even, according to my Estimate, their Abilities, can be considered as having any Similarity, and still less, any Parity. Mr. Addington was moreover removed from the immediate Scene of his Fall in 1804, and translated to the upper House of Parliament: while Lord North remaining a Commoner, with the Insignia of the *Garter* across his Breast, exhibited a Spectacle of ministerial Greatness in Eclipse, like Wolsey, or like Clarendon, or like Bolingbroke. Even the Compliments and the Caresses of his late bitter Opponents, now become his Co-adjutors, always appeared to me, only to sink him in the Estimation of the House. But he seemed, himself, to be wholly exempt from, or superior to, any painful Emotions at the political Change that he had undergone. The same cheerful Complacency, ready Wit, and unaffected good Humour, always characterized him under every Circumstance. Sometimes he even jested on his own Descent from the highest Situation, to a subordinate Place in Government. The Apartments constituting the Secretary of State's Office at the Treasury, being situate on the

sons came down on the ninth of April, to witness the extraordinary Spectacle of Lord North and Fox taking their Places, Side by Side, as joint Secretaries of State:—a Metamorphosis, or more properly to speak, a Transition, to be ranked among the most wonderful which the Eighteenth Century displayed in political Life! The new Chancellor of the Exchequer opened his financial Administration, a few Days later, with a Loan; the Conditions, of which, if not as beneficial or advantageous to the Country, as might have been wished, were nevertheless, he said, as good as could be procured under the Circumstances of Urgency and Retardment, in which the culpable Obstinacy of the late Ministers had involved every Department. Mr. Pitt, who had now taken his Place on the Opposition Bench, and who from this Time, notwithstanding his Youth, was justly considered as the Head of that Party in the House of Commons; opposed and censured the Terms of Lord John Cavendish's Loan; but, without venturing to divide the House upon it, as the *Coalition*, he was aware, would have much outnumbered him. Governor Johnstone expressed himself likewise with great Severity, on the

Subject of the Bargain; qualifying nevertheless his Condemnation, with Compliments to Lord John's recognized Integrity and Purity of Intention. Fox admitted it to be a disadvantageous Loan for the Public; but, added, that he heard with some Astonishment, the Censures passed on it by Mr. Pitt, he being the principal Cause that the Terms were bad, by his Delay in quitting Office. "With Respect to a Competition," continued he, "which the Right Honorable Gen-"tleman has recommended, as a preferable "Mode, none such could be obtained on the "present Occasion; the Bankers having "connected themselves so strongly, and "acted so much in *Concert*, that it became "impossible to surmount the Impediments "raised by them." Pitt, in Reply, treated the Reasons alleged by the Secretary of State, with Derision; adding, that "per-"haps, a Term which had lately become ce-"lebrated, a *Coalition* of Bankers, might "better express his Meaning, than the Word "*Concert*." Nor did Pitt limit his Sarcasms to political Allusion:—for, Fox having, in Order to justify the Principle on which the twelve Millions had been borrowed, adverted to the Doctrine of Chances; Pitt replied,

that "the Reasoning adopted, was only be-
"coming a *Gambler* and a *Gamester*, who
"takes up Money desperately, without in-
"tending ever to repay the Principal." The Secretary retorted with Asperity, vindicated himself from the Imputation thrown on him, and by very solid Arguments supported the Transaction. Lord North, who was present, took merely a subordinate Part in the Debate, leaving the Burthen to be supported by Fox. Pitt's moral Superiority to his ministerial Antagonists, as resulting from Character, was strongly manifested throughout the whole Discussion.

[25th of April.] Lord John's Loan having borne a Premium of eight per Cent. within a Week after its Negotiation, the Subject was again agitated in Parliament with augmented Violence, Fox still taking on himself the principal Defence of the Measure. As he persisted to render the late Ministers responsible for the Terms, on Account of the Hurry in which it was unavoidably concluded, Pitt called on him to desist from using such Language; or, if he continued it, to come forward with a Charge against himself, and not to make it by Insi-

nuation, but, in direct Words. Lord North vainly endeavoured to moderate these mutual Recriminations, and to infuse some good Humour into the Discussion. Pitt was not to be mollified by Wit, or conciliated by Advances. "The Secretary of "State," said he, "not content with attempt-"ing to justify the Loan, accuses me of "neglecting to borrow while I was Chan-"cellor of the Exchequer, when the three "per Cents were up at 70. Has he for-"gotten the Menaces which were thrown "out against the late Administration, if they "attempted to negotiate any Measure of Fi-"nance? Was not this House urged to "watch us narrowly, in Order that no Loan "might be set on Foot; not even the Muti-"ny Bill passed, so necessary for control-"ing the Army; nor any Act which could "appear like the Operation of permanent "Ministers, *because a Coalition had been just "formed to seize upon the Government?*" Such an Expression was not of a Nature to be passed over by the Secretary, in Silence. "I insist," answered he, "that it is "a rash and unjustifiable Assertion. The "late Cabinet was driven from Office, as, I "trust, every Cabinet will be, the Members

" of which act wrong, by a Majority of this " House. By the same constitutional Means, " the Ministry of the noble Lord near me, " was removed; a Measure in which the " Right Honorable Gentleman fully concur- " red.—Does he now mean to deny that the " House of Commons possesses any Right of " Interference in the Government of the Coun- " try? If he does, the indecent Expression " which he has just used, may be consistent " with such Principles. But, if he has not " forgotten or abandoned his original Ideas " and Opinions, I hope he will forbear from " applying such Appellations to the Line of " Conduct, which, twelve Months ago, he " himself approved." Far, however, from disavowing, or in any Degree retracting the obnoxious Words, Pitt not only repeated them; but, declared that he meant to use them on all future Occasions, as being the only appropriate Expressions, when alluding to the Manner in which the *Coalition* had obtained Possession of Power. " I confess at the same Time," added he, " that had " they ever been applied to the Conduct which " drove from Employment, the noble Lord " in the blue Ribband, I should have ex- " pressed my Indignation at it: but, I never

"can consent to regard two Things so dis-"similar, in the same Point of View." If public Opinion, independent of Parliament, could have raised any Man to Office, Pitt would unquestionably have been elevated in April, 1783, to the Situation which he attained eight Months later, in December of the same Year. But, the *Coalition* for the present remained Masters of the Government, and compelled him to confine his Opposition to verbal Remonstrances. He knew his Party to be too weak for hazarding a Division, which could only have exposed the Paucity of his Numbers.

[7th May.] Nor did Pitt prove more successful in an Attempt which he soon afterwards renewed, to effect a Parliamentary Reform, than he had been in the former Session. He pronounced indeed, a most eloquent Address upon the Subject, and was supported in his Motion, by Fox. Two Proselytes likewise, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and Mr. Dundas, having read, each, their political Recantation, adopted his Principles for rendering the Representation more extended, as well as more pure and incorrupt. But, the House remained deaf to all these Argu-

ments, though illustrated by Examples; the latter of which did not even appear to have obtained for those who exhibited them, the Praise either of Disinterestedness, or of Sincerity. Fox and Sheridan, while they sustained Pitt's Proposition, yet treated with Contempt and Derision, the pretended Sacrifice of the Borough of Old Sarum, which Mr. Thomas Pitt affected to offer up at the Shrine of the British Constitution, as a Victim to its renovated Purity. If we reflect on the close Degree of Consanguinity that existed between William and Thomas Pitt, who were Cousins-German; a Relationship strengthened by personal Friendship:—and if we likewise recollect that Thomas represented the elder Branch of the Family; we may perhaps incline to think that he relied on being speedily raised to the Peerage, for this Mark of Devotion, as effectively took Place scarcely eight Months afterwards. Dundas, who had a long and a keen political Sight, having already determined on attaching his future political Fortune to Pitt probably thought a speculative political Tenet to be undeserving of Contention. But, the Recantation pronounced by both, rather tended to throw a Ridicule on the Proposi-

tion, than to recommend it to the House. Lord North made ample amends for his passive Inactivity during the preceding Session, when a similar Discussion had taken Place. He spoke with uncommon Ability, Wit, and Force of Argument, against all representative Innovation. Powis, who rarely coincided with him on any Point, joined him on this Occasion.

It has always appeared to me, that Pitt's Proposition for a Parliamentary Reform in 1783, was liable to less Exception than his Motion of the preceding Year. The latter, which he made in May, 1782, opened wide the Door of Innovation, as it proposed "a "Committee to be appointed, for enquiring "into the State of the national Representa-"tion in Parliament;" whereas on the present Occasion, he named his specific Remedies for the alledged Evil. Among them, the principal Cure for Court Influence and Corruption, was "an Addition of Knights "of the Shire, and of Representatives of the "Metropolis." We must own, that as far as Theory may be trusted, of all the Experiments which could be tried on the British Constitution, this seems to promise the fairest

for Success, or in all Cases to be productive of the least Injury. It was compared perhaps with Propriety, to the Infusion of new Blood into the animal Body. Pitt left the deliberative Wisdom of Parliament to determine *how many* County Members should be added; but he gave it as his own Opinion, that they ought not to be under *one Hundred*. Powis, who spoke very early in the Debate, admitted, that among all the Measures devised for ameliorating the Composition of the lower House of Parliament, the present was open to least Objection; but he did not on that Account allow it to be proper for Adoption. With great Ability and Effect he called on the Clerks to produce, and to read over, as most essential when such a Subject was under Discussion; the Petitions for a more equal or extended Representation, from the populous Towns of Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield. After a careful Examination, the Clerks informed him, that not one of those three great manufacturing Places had sent any Petition to Parliament. "What! Not to be found in "the List!" exclaimed Powis. "How neg-"ligent! How oblivious of their Duty to "the State, and to themselves! Do they

"then regard themselves as Outcasts from "the Constitution! How can they so forget "to demand a Boon which would restore "them to Employment, to Trade, and to "Happiness!" The House felt the full Force of this ingenious Sarcasm.

Mr. Thomas Pitt, though he exposed himself to much severe Comment, not unaccompanied with Ridicule, for his Tergiversation in supporting the present Motion, when in the preceding Session he had opposed a Proposition of a similar Nature; yet alledged some very plausible Reasons for his Versatility. He was indeed a very plausible Speaker, and had a seductive Species of Eloquence which characterized him. Nor did he, though he coincided with his Relation and Friend, by any means disgrace himself in the Manner of doing it. On the contrary, while he surrendered to the *Principle*, he opposed and resisted the *Application*. To the *Augmentation* of the County Members he assented; but, not to the *Number*, below which the Mover had declared they ought not to fall. Mr. Thomas Pitt protested against the Introduction of so large a Body of new Men, who would far exceed, he said, the Limits

dictated by Prudence and Caution. "If "no other Person will do it," added he, "I "will offer an Amendment, by inserting the "Words, *an Augmentation of one Member to "each County in England and Wales;* and "I am determined to take the Sense of the "House upon it." There was nothing servile or dependant in this Conduct. Having expressed in Language of Energy and Animation, his Respect for a well balanced, limited, and mitigated Monarchy, such as ours ought ever to be; he drew with the Pencil of a Master, the two extreme Cases; one, of a Minister who should throw all Power into the Scale of the Crown; contrasted with the other, who avowed his Intention of making the Balance preponderate in Favour of the People. It was not possible to mistake, that by the former Portrait, he meant to designate Lord North; by the latter, Fox. Both were highly coloured, yet not destitute of Truth. When he had depictured the Calamities resulting from a bad Administration, supporting itself by Corruption, in Defiance of public Opinion, of the independent Part of Parliament, and of the Nation; which Government he denominated "the more ab-"solute, as wearing the Mask of Liberty;"

he held up to View, the opposite Extreme. "If," observed he, "on the other Hand, in a "Constitution poised like our own, *the Force* "*of Cabal and Faction could at any Time* "*seize on the executive Authority, equally a-* "*gainst the Sense of the Sovereign, and of the* "*People;—if the titular Monarch should be* "*so disarmed and pinioned, as to be allowed* "*no Choice in the Nomination of his Minis-* "*ters; no Opinion as to the Measures pur-* "*sued; no free Will as to granting or with-* "*holding the Favours and Graces of the* "*Crown;—in a Word, if nothing should re-* "*main to the Monarch, except the mortify-* "*ing Pre-eminence of sustaining daily Insults* "*on the Throne;—I should not hesitate to de-* "*nominate such a Government, a Republic;* "*and a Republic of the worst Description.*"

Neither of the two Secretaries of State could pass over without Notice, Allusions at once so severe and so personal. Lord North contrived, with uncommon Felicity of Argument and Expression, to blend his own Defence, with the Opposition which he made to the Motion. Rarely have I witnessed, even from *Him*, a Display of greater Talent, Pleasantry, and sound Reasoning. Borrowing Part

of his Artillery from Shakspeare, he played, in a Manner peculiarly entertaining, upon the *Hundred Knights* proposed by Pitt, to be added to the County Members. "*I* say, "however, as I trust the Majority will say, "this Night," continued he, "No! not fifty. "What! not fifty! No! not one."——"The "American War is held up to our View, as "if it had been the War of the Crown, in "Contradiction to the Wishes of the People. "I deny the Fact. It was the War of Par-"liament, sanctioned throughout its whole "Progress, by both Houses. It was more. "It was the War of the People, undertaken "for the Purpose of maintaining their Rights "over the Dependencies of the Empire. It "was, in its Commencement, a popular "War. Could the pretended Influence of "the Crown have not only procured Majo-"rities approaching nearly to Unanimity, "within these Walls; but, almost unani-"mous Approbation without Doors?—True "it is, that ill Success rendering it at length "unpopular, the People began to cry out "for Peace. Had the Constitution been so "corrupt, or so disordered, as these Refor-"mers assert; how comes it that the Voice "of the People and of this House, has so

"recently prevailed against the Power and "Influence of the Crown?"

"After having demonstrated that the Petitions from various Counties of the Kingdom, laid upon the Table, had been surreptitiously obtained, or were signed only by a Minority of the Inhabitants and Freeholders; he entreated the Indulgence of the House, while he said a few Words personal to himself. Never did I witness a more enthusiastic or more universal Encouragement than he received, to induce him to proceed! "Well, Sir," said he, addressing the Chair, "the Fact to "which I allude, is the Accusation respecting bad Ministers being continued in "Office, by the over-ruling Influence of the "Crown, against the Wishes of the People. "This is not a random Stroke. Its Direction "may be discovered, by the Quarter from "which it comes; and I will not affect to "think that it can be levelled against any "other Person than myself. But, the At"tack is altogether unjust. I was not a "Minister of Chance, picked up by the So"vereign, and unknown to Parliament. It "was here I first became known. In my "Rise I was the Creature of Parliament.

"When I fell, I was its Victim. You raised "me up. You pulled me down. Does my "Administration shew the undue Influence "of the Crown? No! Sir, the History of "my political Life forms a Proof, which "will overturn a thousand wild Assertions, "that there is a corrupt Influence in the "Crown, which destroys the Independence "of this Assembly. Where then is the Ne- "cessity for this paraded Reformation?"— "The Addition of a hundred, or even of "fifty County Members, would give to the "landed Interest, a decided Superiority over "the monied and the commercial. But, let "us not begin to invade the Fabrick of the "British Constitution, which preserves the "due Equipoize between the several great "Interests of the Empire! *Principiis obsta.* "Let us act as the Representatives, not as "the Deputies of the People. We are not "to refer to *Them*, before we determine. "We are to use our own Discretion, seeking "no other Guidance. In a Word, let us "reject those specious, but dangerous Mea- "sures, which, if once adopted, will inevit- "ably lead to Subversion!" We are at a Loss whether most to admire the Principles, the Eloquence, or the Reasoning of this ad-

mirable Address, which would of itself suffice to place Lord North in the first Rank of wise, enlightened, and patriotic Statesmen.

Fox displayed on that Night, his usual Ability; but he found himself painfully situated; hampered by his Declarations when out of Office; compelled to vote against his Colleague, and to support Pitt, whom he apprehended as his most formidable Adversary. He took however a sort of Revenge, by holding up Mr. Thomas Pitt to Ridicule. Probably, if he could have relied on continuing in Office, he would have been inclined to imitate the two Examples set him by Thomas Pitt and by Dundas. And as they had abandoned in some Degree their preceding Opinions and Declarations, in Order to cement their Connexion with the Mover of the Proposition; so the new Secretary might have manifested some Symptoms of a more favourable Disposition towards the Crown, and less Ardor for popular Rights, than he had hitherto exhibited in Parliament. But, Fox well knew on what loose Foundations his Power reposed. He felt the strong Alienation by which the King

was animated towards him and his Associates in Office; and he therefore did not venture on any Step, which might compromise him with his Westminster Constituents, or expose him to the Imputation of Inconsistency and Apostacy. Throughout the whole Period of Fox's Ministerial Career, while a Member of the *Coalition*, he seems never to have forgotten that he held his Situation, not by the Choice of the Sovereign, but, in Contradiction to his Will. He was in Fact a Tribune, arrayed in Consular Robes, who always beheld before him the Palace Yard Convocations, and considered himself as a Representative of the People, rather than a Minister of George the Third. Pitt, on the contrary, even while seated on the Opposition Bench, appeared to anticipate his speedy Return to Power as certain, and only to wait for the Occasion presenting itself, to resume his former Functions.

Two Individuals of great Eminence in Parliament, were prevented on that Occasion, though by very different Causes, from delivering their Opinions, on Pitt's proposed Measure of Reform. The first, Sir George

Saville, who rose when Mr. Thomas Pitt sate down, and who always strongly supported every Proposition for restraining the Power of the Crown; was compelled by severe Indisposition to stop short, after pronouncing only a few Sentences. The Disorders under which he laboured, and which had already impaired his bodily Strength, though not the Activity of his Mind, conducted him soon afterwards to the Grave. Burke, whose powerful Abilities would have been thrown into the opposite Scale;—for, he was always an Enemy to Experiments on the Representation, or on the Constitution;—stood up when Fox concluded, with the Intention of replying to the Arguments of the Secretary his Friend. But, the Disinclination evinced to hear him, and the Noise made by those Members who dreaded the Prolixity of his Speeches, was so great, as at once to irritate and disgust a Man, who, with all his splendid Talents, never learned or practised the Secret of knowing how and when to address the House. With strong Marks of Indignation in his Countenance and Gestures, he resumed his Seat. With perfect Truth did Goldsmith assert of Burke, when preparing to open his exhaust-

less Stores of Knowledge, to Men fatigued, or averse to receive his Information, that

> "He thought of convincing, when they thought of dining:"

while Sheridan possessed so nice a Tact, and knew so well how to contract his Matter, when he perceived an Impatience or a Disinclination to listen, that he never experienced the mortifying Rejection which Burke provoked.

Rigby made a conspicuous Figure towards the Close of this memorable Debate. Unlike Dundas, who had laid at the Feet of Pitt, his former Opinions; Rigby maintained them in all their Force. Nor did he fail to express the utmost Astonishment at the Change which had taken Place in the Sentiments of his Friend the learned Lord, on the Subject under Discussion. The Friendship to which he alluded, had however suffered some Injury since Lord North's Resignation, during more than a Year, in Consequence of the rapid Succession of ministerial Changes, and political Events; and they no longer acted, as formerly, in Con-

cert. Dundas kept his Eye only upon Pitt. Rigby, pressed to pay into the Exchequer, his vast Balances of public Money, was compelled to adapt his Conduct to Circumstances. Their Union might indeed be already considered as at an End. The Ex-Paymaster finally joined the *Coalition:* while the Lord Advocate remained unalterably attached to the rising Star of Chatham; by the Influence of which, added to his own distinguished Abilities, he not only attained, and long occupied, some of the highest Employments; but, ultimately closed his Career in the upper House of Parliament. On the present Occasion, Rigby expressed himself with his blunt, habitual, contemptuous Frankness of Language and of Manner. Having treated the Petitions for a more equal Representation, as undeserving serious Notice, and alluding to the proposed Addition of *County* Members. "I do not allow," exclaimed he, "that they are more respectable "than the *Burgesses*. I am, myself, a Bur-"gess, and so is the Mover of this Question. "Never will I consent to any Innovation or "Augmentation in the actual Numbers of "the Commons. Nay, I would prefer be-"holding another Member added to the Bo-

"rough of Old Sarum, which consists only "of a single Tenement, rather than allow "another Member to the City of London, "which is already sufficiently represented "in this Assembly."——"The Spirit of In- "novation has been carried too far, while "the Influence of the Crown is too much "curtailed. Will Ministers assert," continued he, looking across the House at Fox, "that they do not feel it; and feel it as an "Impediment to Government, in carrying "on the most necessary Measures of Admi- "nistration?"—The Secretary of State signifying by his Gestures, that he did not agree to the Assertion, "I well know," said Rigby, without being disconcerted, "that "here, in this House, I shall receive no "other Reply. It won't do for Gentlemen "who have been most clamorous in Oppo- "sition, and who have for many Sessions "declaimed against the Influence of the "Crown; to admit in the Face of those "whom they have misled, that they now, "when seated on the Treasury Bench, smart "under the Inconvenience which they have "themselves produced. But, I am sure, "they feel it, and the Public feel it not "less."——"I am as great an Enemy to a

"dangerous Extension of the royal Influ-
"ence, as any Man within these Walls: but,
"it forms as necessary an Ingredient in the
"Constitution, as the Power of the Com-
"mons. And I hope, the Time is not re-
"mote, when that Influence, so decried of
"late, will be restored to its former neces-
"sary and beneficial Extent." We cannot wonder that such Opinions and Principles, however odious they might be to the Multitude convened in Palace Yard, should have formed powerful Recommendations at St. James's. Mr. Pitt's Resolutions were finally negatived by a far greater Majority than in the preceding Year; out of near four hundred and fifty Members who voted, only one hundred and forty-nine having divided with him.

[May.] No Man in Office made a more conspicuous Figure, or attracted more Attention, during the Session under Consideration, than Burke: but, it was not by any Means such as his Friends and Admirers could contemplate either with Pride, with Pleasure, or even with Approbation. It excited indeed great Regret, that a Person endowed with Parts so eminent, and appa-

rently animated by Philanthropy so extended, should nevertheless allow himself at Times to be led into the most unjustifiable Deviations from ordinary Prudence and Propriety of Conduct. In the present Instance he involved his Party, as well as himself, in equal Embarrassment, by his intemperate Precipitation. Two Individuals, Powell and Bembridge, the one Cashier, the other Accountant, of the Military Pay Office, having been accused of Malversation in the Discharge of their Functions, had been dismissed by Colonel Barré from their Offices, while he was Paymaster of the Forces, under Lord Shelburne's Administration. On Burke coming again into that Employment, one of his first Acts, without previously consulting Fox upon the Subject, was to reinstate both those Persons in their respective Situations. Such a Proceeding relative to Functionaries laboring under heavy Charges, and about to become Subjects of criminal Prosecution in the Court of King's Bench, naturally formed an Object of Discussion in the House of Commons, where it excited very pointed Animadversion. Burke, petulant and irritable, defended with Warmth the Step that he had taken,

though a Measure in itself evidently contrary to the Judgment of all Parties. Fox, while he tacitly lamented and disapproved the Act, yet, as he never abandoned his Friends in Distress, endeavoured to justify its Author. The Interference was, nevertheless, peculiarly painful and delicate on his Part; Powell, who had risen under his Father, the late Lord Holland, being supposed to have connived at some of the Appropriations of public Money, which were attributed, perhaps very unjustly, by popular Prejudice, to that Nobleman, while Paymaster of the Forces. It was, for the corrupt Concealment of a Sum exceeding forty-eight thousand Pounds in the Accounts of Lord Holland, that Powell and Bembridge were now about to undergo a Trial. No Circumstance therefore could have been less agreeable to Fox, while standing in the conspicuous Situation of Secretary of State, than to be thus compelled, by Burke's Imprudence in restoring them to their Places, to come forward as the Advocate and Apologist of such a Transaction.

On the first Agitation of the Business, Pitt, having observed, that the Restoration

of two Men accused of Malversation, appeared to reflect in no ordinary Degree, on the Authors of their Dismission; as well as on the late Attorney-General, (Kenyon,) who had given his decided Opinion against both the Individuals; Sheridan rose, in Order to justify the Transaction, as far as it involved Ministers in any Culpability. His Vindication seeming to bear hard upon Kenyon, as if he had neglected his official Duty in not commencing and following up a Prosecution against them; He, who possessed a more than common Portion of Irritability, instantly came forward. In Terms the most explicit he protested, that as soon as the Case of Powell and Bembridge was laid before him, he had delivered his Opinion, that they ought to become Objects equally of a civil and a criminal Pursuit: "In so "strong a Point of View," added he, "did "I see their Conduct, as to leave me no "Hesitation in declaring to the Persons who "were then in Power, that such enormous "Offenders ought not to be suffered to re-"main in Places of Trust." Under this heavy Charge, made from so high a Quarter, Burke did not at first display any unbecoming Warmth. On the contrary, he rather

endeavoured to extenuate, to explain, and to palliate, than either wholly to deny, or to vindicate, the Acts committed in his Office. But, Martin, who had always expressed a decided Condemnation of the *Coalition*, which political Junction, he embraced every Opportunity of reprobating; having observed that he regarded the Restoration of the Cashier and Accountant of the Military Pay Office, *as a gross and daring Insult to the Public*; Burke lost all Controul over his Temper. In a Manner the most furious, starting up from the Treasury Bench on which he was seated, he unquestionably would have given way to his Rage, in Words the most unbecoming, if more than one of his Friends near him, had not forcibly pulled him down in his Place, and held him there. Sir Edward Astley having nevertheless repeated Martin's Assertion; adding, that "to "replace two Individuals accused of a "Crime amounting to public Robbery, im- "plied a Contempt of public Opinion, and "was a daring Insult;" Fox found it high Time to interfere. His Speech, while it implied his Regret at the injudicious Conduct of the Paymaster, and his Disapprobation of the whole Transaction, yet made the

most temperate, able, and effectual Appeal to the Candour and Liberality of the House. After declaring that he never had heard of the Restoration of the two Persons in Question, till Burke himself had communicated to him the Fact, at St. James's, just as he was entering the King's Closet; he readily admitted the indispensable Necessity for an Enquiry taking Place. "But," added he, "Mr. Burke thinking that Punishment "ought not to precede Enquiry, has re-"stored them to their Situations; deter-"mined, no doubt, on suiting his future "Conduct to the eventual Issue." With great Address Fox threw a Veil over the Infirmity of his Friend; and being assisted by the Speaker, who declared the whole Conversation to be disorderly, as there was not any Question before the House, the Business was stopped. This Discussion took Place on the second of May.

[19th—21st May.] A Transaction of so extraordinary a Nature, which involved in it, either the Paymaster who had suspended, or the Paymaster who had restored, the two accused Individuals; though it might be arrested for a short Time, yet could not how-

ever be wholly suppressed by ministerial Power and Interference. The Belief and even Conviction of Powell and Bembridge's Guilt, becoming universal, the Subject was soon renewed in the House of Commons. Lord Newhaven, one of the two Members for Gatton in Surrey, a Borough of which he was then the Proprietor; and who had been raised from the Rank of a Baronet, to the Dignity of an Irish Peer, by Lord North, during the Course of his Administration; became the involuntary Instrument of reviving the Discussion. For, he having made a Motion on the 24th of April, to lay on the Table, the Treasury Minute respecting the Suspension of Powell and Bembridge, with a View to commence an Enquiry into the Affair; now moved to discharge the Order. He assigned as a Reason for this seeming Inconsistence, that a Prosecution having been commenced in the Courts below, it would be unbecoming to continue the Enquiry within those Walls. But, his Proposition was strongly opposed from various Quarters. Sir Cecil Wray, who, though he possessed no superior Talents, was independent in Mind, as well as in Fortune; expressed his Astonishment that the Paymas-

ter General, should reinstate two Persons, suspected of so great a Crime as the Embezzlement of public Money. The Reasons assigned by Burke for his Conduct, namely, "that he believed them innocent; and that "he was responsible, not to the House, but, "to the Public," appeared to him, (Sir Cecil Wray,) by no Means satisfactory.

Mr. Powis, as well as other Members, sustaining the Arguments, Burke was necessitated to enter on his Defence, which he did with Temper, if not with Judgment. It would, indeed, have been most imprudent, as well as dangerous, to have allowed his Anger to predominate over his Reason, after plunging himself into so complicated an Embarrassment. He excused the Violence which he had displayed during the former Debate, by alledging the Respect that he felt for the House, and his extreme Sensibility to any Marks of their Displeasure. But, he in the same Breath desired it to be understood, that nothing could be more remote from his present Intention, than to offer any Excuse for his Conduct relative to the two unfortunate Gentlemen in Question. "On that "Point," added he, "I feel such a Sunshine

"of Content within, that if the Act were "undone, I am convinced I should repeat it. "My invariable Maxim and Rule of Con- "duct, is to compassionate and to protect "the unfortunate, while I do not find them "to be criminal. The Individuals under "Discussion, have been committed to my "Protection by Providence, and I have only "performed my Duty, by replacing them in "their Situations.—I nevertheless disclaim "every Idea of having either acted in Con- "cert with His Majesty's Ministers, or of "even having asked their Advice. Nay "more, I protest that I have retained these "Persons in Office, contrary to their own "Prayers and Entreaties.—As to my own "Share in this Affair, I care not how deeply "it is probed. My Mind, filled with con- "scious Rectitude of Intention, was never "more tranquil than on the present Occa- "sion."

A Defence, if such it can properly be denominated, which seemed to set all common Rules of human Action at Defiance, and might justly be thought to impeach the Sanity of Burke's Mind, did not tend to conciliate his Audience, or to stop all

further Enquiry. Pitt, Dundas, Kenyon, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Pepper Arden, Colonel Barré, and many others, persisted to demand that the Treasury Minutes should be laid on the Table. Ministers, on the other Hand, though they admitted the Imprudence of the Paymaster, and lamented it; yet resisted any Disclosure whatever, under the Pretence that it might prejudice the accused Parties, if made previous to the criminal Proceedings about to take Place in the Courts of Judicature. Fox exerted all the Powers of Reasoning, and Sheridan exhausted his Ingenuity, in Endeavours to protect their Friend. General Conway, while he avowed that Burke's Conduct did not meet his Approbation, yet refused to consent to the Production of the Minutes. Nor did Lord North decline to perform on that Evening, the Service of a faithful Ally to his new Colleagues. He not only voted, but, spoke in the Course of the Debate, with great apparent Animation. To him, indeed, and to his Adherents, more than to the Rockingham Party, was to be attributed the slender Majority by which Ministers ultimately prevailed. Even that Triumph, if it could deserve the Name, was not ob-

tained, till Lee, the Solicitor General, had solemnly pledged himself to the House, that the Prosecution against Powell and Bembridge, should be seriously conducted. As the best Proof of his Sincerity, he called on the late Attorney and Solicitor General, to aid him in the Proceeding. Under these Circumstances, after a Debate of great Acrimony, and of considerable Length, a Division took Place. Near three hundred Members were present; of which Number, one hundred and thirty-seven voted for producing the Treasury Minutes. One hundred and sixty-one supported Government; thus carrying the Question only by twenty-four. But, the real Victory remained with Opposition;—the Victory of public Opinion; for, probably, among those Persons who supported Administration, scarcely ten Individuals approved the Cause in which they engaged.

Mr. Rolle, then Member for the County of Devon, who has been since raised to the Peerage; justly considering Burke's Conduct as not only wrong in itself, but insulting to the Country at large; brought the Consideration of it a third Time, before the

House. Having demanded of the Paymaster, whether he still retained his Determination to keep Powell and Bembridge in their Employments, Burke rose, and pronounced a Speech of near two Hours. He was indeed several Times interrupted, and called to Order; the Irritation of his Temper carrying him into Digressions altogether irrelevant to the Subject under Discussion. Great Eccentricity, if not Aberration of Mind, characterized many Passages of his Defence; which implied a distempered Imagination, under the Influence of strong Feelings, but, destitute of the Controul of sober Reason. He compared himself to an Indian Savage, roasted by one of his Countrymen, and served up as a Dish, or as an *Entre-met*. After calling on God to witness, that in all the Proceedings relative to the two accused Persons, he had been actuated solely by Motives of Justice and of Conscience; He nevertheless added, that as so large and respectable a Body of Members had appeared to censure his Conduct, he would give Way. His Bill for reforming the royal Household, he said, constituted his irremissible Crime, and had procured him numerous Enemies. To that Cause he appeared to attribute the present Attack upon his

Conduct, as well as the successive Interruptions that he underwent. Of Powell and Bembridge he spoke, not only as Men of uncommon official Merit, but, of religious Integrity. Then diverging to other Points apparently unconnected with the Topic before the House, he lamented Lord Rockingham's Decease; put himself upon God and his Country; claimed the Merit of his Reforms; and added, that he had still great Matters of a similar Description to propose to Parliament, if they did not fetter him in the Mode of carrying them into Execution. Mingling some of the finest Passages of Virgil and of Shakspeare, with his own Justification, He impressed his Audience with mingled Pity and Admiration. Having concluded, he started up again, merely to state that Powell had already resigned, at his own Request, and that Bembridge had made a similar Offer; but he trusted the House would not insist on its being carried into Execution.

Mr. Rolle continuing nevertheless to be of Opinion that the latter ought equally to be suspended, Fox interposed; and though he deprecated the Measure taking Place previous to a Trial in Westminster Hall, yet, he subjoined, that as so respect-

able a Minority thought otherwise, he wished his Friend to accept Bembridge's Resignation. Rigby tried however one more Effort in his behalf, but, without Effect. The Ex-Paymaster making on this Occasion, common Cause with his present Successor; after bearing ample Testimony to the high Merits of the two Culprits during thirteen Years that he had held the Office; endeavoured to shew that no possible Injury would accrue to the Public, from suffering Bembridge to exercise the Functions of Accountant. His Eloquence proved equally unavailing with Burke's pathetic and querulous Invocations. The House remained inexorable; and Fox did not dare to hazard the Experiment of a second Division, by which, whatever might be the Result, Government would only augment the Obloquy already incurred. Burke therefore appeared sullenly to acquiesce; declaring at the same Time, that he would not be responsible for the Consequences which might accrue from the Resignation of Bembridge. So doubtful however did his Submission seem, and so strong was his Repugnance to obey the Orders of Parliament, that Rolle repeated his Enquiries on the Subject, a few Days

afterwards; during which short Interval of Time, Powell fell a Victim to his Reflections. This disastrous Circumstance augmenting the Irritation of Burke's Mind, he refused to answer the Question put to him; and the whole Business would have been agitated anew, if Rigby had not risen to satisfy the Demand, by declaring that Bembridge was actually suspended.[1]

The House of Commons, however strong a Disposition they shewed on every Occasion, to approve and to sanction the general Measures of Administration; manifested nevertheless strong Disapprobation of Burke's Conduct in this Instance. Powell, overcome either by the Weight of his own Distress, or by his Inability to sustain the public Opinion of his Culpability; after losing in a great Measure the Use of his Faculties, put an End to his Existence with a Razor. Bembridge, endowed with a firmer Mind, or with stronger Nerves, was reserved for the Infamy of a public Trial and Condemnation, before Lord Mansfield. The Prosecution, which took place some Months afterwards; reluctantly, but, ably and fairly conducted by Lee, the Solicitor General, terminated in

the complete Exposure of the Fraud imputed to Bembridge, for which the Court sentenced him to a severe Fine and Imprisonment. Every Exertion which the Purity of our Jurisprudence will allow, was made to soften, or to avert, the Severity of the Stroke. Burke, who did not hesitate to appear in Court, seated upon the Bench during the Proceedings, gave the strongest Attestations to Bembridge's Character for Integrity. He was accompanied there by Lord North, who likewise condescended to join in a similar Testimony to the good Conduct and Probity of the accused, during the Time that he had, himself, formerly held the Post of joint Paymaster of the Forces. But these Efforts, which proved unavailing, only attracted Censure towards the Persons who thus attempted to screen from Punishment, a conspicuous Delinquent: while the Proofs exhibited of his Guilt, impressed the public Mind with Opinions highly unfavourable, not merely to Burke himself, at least in a prudential Point of View; but, to the Ministry in which he filled so distinguished a Place.

[3d June.] Scarcely had this Affair termi-

nated, when Burke plunged himself into a second Embarrassment, hardly less painful to his Friends. A Bill for the Regulation of the Pay Office, having been brought into the House of Commons by himself, which gave rise to much Discussion and Difference of Opinion, in its Passage through the Committee; the contending Parties agreed to fill up the Blanks amicably, after the House rose, round the Speaker's Chair. Burke being Paymaster General, of Course took an active Part, as did many other Members; and the Clauses were understood to have been settled in the way specified, by mutual Consent. But, Mr Estwick, Member for Westbury, on a Motion for the third Reading of the Bill, to the Astonishment of the House, rising up in his Place, preferred a formal Charge against Burke; accusing him of having gone into the Engrossing Room, after the Bill in Question had been carried there; of expunging three Clauses, and altering a fourth, all which he re-modelled to his own Taste. Such an Act, if it had been proved, might have led to very grave Consequences; and must in any Case have attracted public Censure, or produced a Reprimand from the Chair. Fox immediately came forward

with his characteristic Manliness of Mind, to the Aid of his Friend, whose Conduct was severely arraigned by Pitt. The House admitted the Secretary's Justification as satisfactory, and did not inflict any Mark of its Disapprobation on Burke; though the Excuses offered, or Reasons alledged, for his Conduct, were by no Means such as completely exculpated him in the Opinions of impartial Men. It appeared however, by the Testimony of Cornwall the Speaker, that Burke had not, as he was accused of doing, either expunged or altered any Clause in the engrossing Office. The Speaker at least asserted, and the House lent Credit to his Assurance, that the Misconception had arisen from the Circumstance of his having put the Question on the four Clauses, under an Impression that the Parties were agreed, in so low a Tone of Voice, that they all passed without Notice. Pitt contended, that even though this extraordinary Fact were true, yet the expunged Clauses must be restored, and debated anew by the House. As the Proposition could not be refused, they were therefore brought up, and finally negatived on a Division, though only by a Majority of twenty-eight Votes. The Speaker's Testi-

mony, whether accurate, or not, extricated Burke; and Fox manifested the generous Ardor of his Mind throughout the whole Transaction;—an Ardor which always impelled him to cover the Errors of those, with whom he was connected in Politics or Friendship. But, he did not the less in private condemn Burke's Imprudence; and he was said to have warned the Paymaster of the Forces, as he valued his Office, not to involve his Friends, and the Administration of which he composed so conspicuous a Member, in a third similar Dilemma, during the remainder of the Session.

In the Course of the Debate which arose respecting the expunged Clauses, some Expressions of great Asperity were used and retorted by the Heads of Party on opposite Sides of the House. Pitt, throughout the whole Period of Time that the *Coalition* remained in Possession of the Government, always affected to consider Ministers, as having availed themselves of the Forms of the Constitution, in Order to violate its Essence, and to hold the King in Bondage. While dilating on the Act attributed to Burke, he did not hesitate to warn them

"how they ventured to make a bad Use of "their *ill-gotten Power.*" Lord North immediately rose, and repeating the Words with a Note of Admiration, observed, that "if *Power* acquired in Consequence of a "Vote of that Assembly, condemning the "late Administration for having concluded "a bad Peace, could be denominated *ill-got-*"*ten,*" undoubtedly the Language just used "was, correct. But, if such *Power* had "been *constitutionally* obtained, as he main-"tained to be the Case, then he could not "sufficiently express his Surprize at the Ex-"pression." "As to the *Use,*" continued he, "which we shall make of our Power, I "trust, it will not discredit us. We have "two principal Objects to pursue. The "first is, to do many Things which our Pre-"decessors promised to accomplish, but, "which they have left undone. The other "is, to prevent the Mischiefs resulting from "what they have done." The Ability, as well as the Wit of this Reply, did not silence the Opposition. Mr. Hill, in particular, remarked on the political Phœnomenon which the Treasury Bench exhibited, where two Individuals, who, a Year ago, would not trust themselves together in the same

Room, were now beheld cordially embracing each other. "The House will suppose," continued he, "that I mean, the Secretary "for the Whig Department, and the Secre- "tary for the Tory Department. Such, I "will not deny, is my Meaning; and I beg "to assure the loving Couple, that if they "continue united for a Twelve-month, they "shall have my hearty Vote for *the Flitch* "*of Bacon*. *Necessity* is the grand Argu- "ment used on all Occasions, to justify the "present *Coalition*. I believe, much Truth "is couched under that single Word."

Unquestionably, public Opinion was adverse to the Ministers; and as they well knew how odious they were at St. James's, it behoved them to act with the greatest Circumspection. Pitt did not allow a single Act of their Administration to pass unexamined; and he possessed a great Superiority over two Men, who, however resplendent might be their Ability, and however numerous their Followers, yet were universally considered as having made mutual Sacrifices of Principle, to the Gratification of their Ambition. It is true that the Cabinet had been taken by Storm in March, 1782, as well

as in March, 1783: but, the same Fact gave Rise to very opposite Sensations throughout the Country. The respective Adherents of Lord Rockingham and of the Earl of Shelburne, though they broke out into the most inveterate Hostility, as soon as they became Masters of the Government; yet were impelled by one common leading Object, that of terminating the Contest with America:—an Object, to which, under the Circumstances of the Time, the great Majority of the Nation fervently wished Success. Lord North and Fox derived no Support from popular Favour. Their Possession of Power stood solely on two Votes of the House of Commons. Nor could they claim any Merit for having expelled a Ministry, which by ill Success, Disgraces, and Losses of Territory, was become unpopular or contemptible. Scarcely did the *Coalition* venture to condemn the Peace, for having concluded which, Lord Shelburne was driven out of Office. Indeed, it has always appeared doubtful to me, whether the same Majority which censured the Treaties, would have voted for the Removal of the First Minister who signed them. Lord North manifested much more Firmness or Pertinacity, than was displayed

by the Earl of Shelburne. It may perhaps be said that Lord North still retained, even down to the last Day of his Stay in Office, a Majority, though small: while Lord Shelburne was twice left in a Minority. But, the former Nobleman, let it be recollected, had a long and an awful Balance to adjust with Parliament, as well as with the People of England. Impeachments, Prosecutions, nay, Axes and Scaffolds, had been held up before him, who beheld an Empire dissevered from Great Britain, while he presided in the Councils of the Crown. The latter Minister had, on the contrary, witnessed scarcely any except prosperous Events during his short Administration, which he had terminated by concluding Peace. He, therefore, might without any personal Danger, have waited for more decided and affirmative Testimonies of Parliamentary Condemnation, before he gave in his Resignation. Why he did not so act, I will not presume to say: but, I am convinced, that if Mr. Pitt had occupied Lord Shelburne's Place in February, 1783, he probably would have maintained himself in it, and finally have triumphed over the *Coalition*.

Among the Persons of Eminence who have "strutted their Hour," under the Reign of George the Third, and who about this Time disappeared from the great public Theatre, may be named General Sir John Irwine. His Person, Manners, and Conversation, were all made for the Drawing Room, where he seemed to be in his native Element. Though declining in Life, yet his Figure, tall, graceful, and dignified, set off by all the Ornaments of Dress, accompanied with a Ribband and a Star, rendered him conspicuous in every Company. He constantly reminded me of a Marshal of France, such as they are described by St. Simon, under Louis the Fourteenth. His Politeness, though somewhat formal, was nevertheless natural and captivating. Perhaps, at least so his Enemies asserted, his military Talents were not equally brilliant with his personal Accomplishments; but he had not risen the more slowly on that account, to the Honors, or to the Eminences, of his Profession. While he was yet only a School-boy, his Father, Lieutenant-General Irwine, gave him a Company in his own Regiment, leaving him subsequently a very good Estate. Besides a Regiment, (the Sixth of Dragoon Guards,) and a Government, con-

ferred on him by the Crown, he had held during several Years, the Post of Commander in Chief in Ireland, with very ample Appointments and Advantages. But, no Income, however large, could suffice for his Expences, which being never restrained within any reasonable Limits, finally involved him in irretrievable Difficulties. The Fact will hardly obtain Belief, that at one of the Entertainments which he gave to the Lord Lieutenant in the Year 1781, at Dublin, he displayed on the Table, as the principal Piece in the Dessert, a Representation of the Fortress of Gibraltar invested by the Spanish Forces, executed in Confectionary. It exhibited a faithful View of that celebrated Rock, so dear to the English Nation; together with the Works, Batteries, and Artillery of the Besiegers, which threw Sugar-plumbs against the Walls. The Expence of this ostentatious Piece of Magnificence, did not fall short of fifteen Hundred Pounds; and so incredible must the Circumstance appear; that if I had not received the Assurance of it from Lord Sackville, I should not venture to report it in these Memoirs.

The greatest Intimacy subsisted between

that Nobleman and Sir John, who owed much of his Advancement and Success in Life, to the Protection of Lionel, Duke of Dorset. Lord Sackville's disinterested Friendship still continued to bring him into Parliament, as his own Colleague for East Grinstead, after Irwine's Return from Ireland, which took place on the Dissolution of Lord North's Administration, down to his final Departure from England. Decorated with the Order of the *Bath*, which then conferred much Distinction; and of which he never failed to display the Insignia whenever he went to the House of Commons, his personal Appearance was imposing. Even of a Morning, in his greatest Undress, he wore a small Star embroidered on his Frock, without which he rarely appeared any where; and his travelling Hussar Cloaks, bore the same brilliant Badge of Knighthood. No Man better knew the Value of external Figure, aided by Manner; and Philip, Earl of Chesterfield himself, had not more successfully studied the Graces. It was impossible to possess finer Manners, without any Affectation; or more perfect good Breeding. With such Pretensions of Person and of Address, it cannot surprize that he attained to a great Degree of Favor at St. James's,

The King considered and treated Irwine, as a Person whose Conversation afforded him peculiar Gratification. He often delighted to protract the Discourse with a Courtier, whose Powers of Entertainment, however extensive, were always under the Restraint of profound Respect; and who never forgot the Character of the Prince whom he addressed, even for a single Moment. Irwine, though so fine a Gentleman, loved all the Indulgencies of Conviviality, in which Gratifications he never restrained himself. The King, not unacquainted with these Particulars, having said to him one Day, at the Drawing Room, when conversing on his common Mode of Life, "they tell me, Sir "John, that you love a Glass of Wine;" "Those, Sir, who have so reported of me to "Your Majesty," answered he, bowing profoundly, "have done me great Injustice. "They should have said a Bottle."

Sir John Irwine's second Wife, a Daughter of the celebrated Physician Sir Edward Barry, who wrote with so much Elegance and Information on the "Wines of the "Ancients," brought him no Issue: but he afterwards contracted a third matrimonial Connexion. On his Return to England, his

Debts became so numerous, and his Creditors so importunate, that, though as a Member of Parliament, his Person still remained secure, he found it impossible to reside longer with Comfort in London. Quitting therefore privately his elegant House in Piccadilly, opposite the Green Park, he retired to the Continent, with his Wife and two Children. Landing in France, he hired a *Chateau* in the Province of Normandy, where his military Rank and Decorations secured for him every Testimony of Respect from the surrounding Gentry. He nevertheless soon experienced such pecuniary Difficulties, that as he could nourish no Hope of ever revisiting his native Country, he removed over the Alps, into Italy. The King, who sincerely regretted his Departure from England, and who well knew the Causes of it, often expressed his Concern for Sir John Irwine's Misfortunes; which he endeavoured to alleviate by sending Sir John, the Sum of a thousand Pounds from his Privy Purse, in two separate Payments. I know this Fact from the late Sir Charles Hotham; who was, I think, himself, the Channel through which His Majesty transmitted the first Donation of five Hundred Pounds. The second

annual Payment reached Parma, on the Morning of Sir John Irwine's Decease. He expired in that City, towards the Close of May, 1788, where he enjoyed the Favour and even Intimacy of the Duke of Parma, and the Archduchess Amelia his Consort, who were then the reigning Princes. He had nearly attained his sixty-first Year, at the Time of his Death; and his characteristic Habits of Hospitality, accompanied with corresponding Expence, distinguished him to the last Moments of his Career. While resident at Parma, he kept open House for all Englishmen of Consideration who passed through the Place; and only a few Days previous to his Decease, he gave a Ball and Supper to the Sovereigns of Parma. Yet, all the Authority of the Duke was vainly exerted, to procure him the Rites of Christian Burial, it being opposed by the Priests of that bigotted Country. The Remains of Sir John Irwine were privately conveyed by Night, and deposited in the Court Yard of a Protestant Banker; the Funeral Service being read by an English Gentleman, and the Body being followed to the Grave, by the few Individuals of the same Nation who were then at Parma. Perhaps I ought here

to add, that Sir John Irwine's Widow and Children owed to the generous Interposition and personal Applications of the late Lord Melville, (then Mr. Dundas,) a Pension, which His Majesty granted them. Nor can I induce myself to omit, as it does the highest Honor to that Nobleman, that he obtained and forwarded to Lady Irwine, the Grant in Question, at a Time when she had vainly solicited it from all the Friends of her late Husband, while Mr. Dundas was hardly known to him as a common Acquaintance. Such Acts demonstrate an enlarged and magnanimous Mind.*

Lord John Cavendish, though he had negotiated and brought forward the *Loan* necessary to be raised, soon after he entered on Office; yet did not propose the Taxes which were to pay the Interest of it, until many Weeks later in the Session: He at length laid them before the House of Commons, where, on the whole, they appeared

* For these Particulars, as well as for the Correction of some Errors into which I had fallen relative to Sir John Irwine, I am indebted to the Lady of Captain Walker, of His Majesty's Royal Navy, Sir John's Daughter, who obligingly favored me with them, under her Hand.

to meet with general Approbation, and even attracted some Encomiums. But, Lord John, whose Talents were not eminently adapted for the Discussion of Measures of Finance, having stated his Ways and Means with tolerable Precision, left the Task of explaining and defending them, principally to his Associates in Power. Fox and Lord North, who undertook it with great Ability, repelled the Comments made from the Opposition Side of the House, on the new Taxes: while the Chancellor of the Exchequer, quitting his Seat on the Treasury Bench, retired during a considerable Part of the Debate, behind the Speaker's Chair; from which Retreat he peeped out on either Side, as Individuals rose, for the Purpose of approving or of censuring his *Budget*. Lord Mahon attacked it with his characteristic Impetuosity of Voice and Manner, accompanying his Comments with most severe Animadversions on Lord North's financial Plans, while he had remained at the Head of the Treasury. Fox defended his Colleague, both with the Arms of Reason and of Ridicule, which instantly brought forward Pitt. Between them the Discussion was maintained with equal Acrimony and Ingenuity, for a

long Time. Pitt not only repeated Lord Mahon's Assertions relative to Lord North's Taxes, which, he said, from their Impolicy had generally frustrated their intended Object; but, added, "The present *Budget* seems "to be of a similar Description. False or "erroneous Principles are assumed, in Order "to support the Measures adopted, which "the People of England are expected to "swallow as greedily, as *the Champion of* "*the People* has uttered them with Rapi-"dity." Fox took his Revenge on the whole Cabinet of the Earl of Shelburne collectively, whom he designated "as incapable of finan-"cial Generation, as it was possible for Bar-"renness to be; having quitted their Em-"ployments, without leaving behind them "a Trace of any Loan or Taxes." Lord North directed the Shafts of his Wit principally against Lord Mahon, "whose Abili-"ties," he observed, "being so great, with-"out Experience, must, when matured by "Time, render him a Prodigy, and an Or-"nament to his Country, at the Head of the "Exchequer."

Lord John Cavendish performed only a subordinate Part, throughout the whole Debate. His acknowledged Purity of Cha-

racter, when joined to his many Virtues; not to dwell on his high Descent; rendered him universally respected: and the Advantage which his Party derived from those Qualities, in the public Estimation, was incalculable. The Nation even seemed silently to demand some such Guarantee, when the Interests of the Country were committed to a Man of Fox's ruined Fortune, and dissipated Habits of Life. Mr. Pitt, it is true, who had been so recently placed at the Head of the Exchequer, scarcely possessed more Property than his Rival. But the People of England knew how to discriminate between their respective Deficiency. Pitt, though not more distinguished by Habits of Economy, than Fox, yet had not dissipated his small Paternal Fortune in any ostensible Vices: while Fox, besides a landed Estate, and a lucrative Office, both which he sold, had squandered an immense Sum of ready Money. Indeed, though Fox always appeared to me, whenever *Loans* or *Budgets* were discussed in Parliament, to display a Capacity for arithmetical Calculation, and all the Talents requisite for a Minister of Finance, scarcely, if at all inferior to Mr. Pitt's Ability in that Line; yet, I believe, it never occurred to any Man's Mind,

to place Fox in the Controul of the Treasury, or of the Exchequer, at any Period of his Life. Almost as well might Henry the Fifth have placed Falstaff there. Fox himself seemed not to emulate a higher Post than Secretary of State, always interposing Lord John Cavendish in the Guardianship of the Public Money. Nor could the British People confide their Interests to more incorruptible Integrity, than distinguished the Chancellor of the Exchequer: but he could not sustain the slightest Comparison with Pitt, nor even with Lord North, in the Powers of his Mind and Understanding, or in his parliamentary Talents, and Knowledge of Business.

[2d and 3d June.] The parliamentary Prosecution instituted against Sir Thomas Rumbold, continued to languish, rather than to advance towards any Consummation, throughout the whole Session. Nevertheless, at this Time, the Evidence in his Defence being closed, Mr. Dundas rose, and moved that the Proceedings should not be discontinued by either a Prorogation or a Dissolution of Parliament. This Motion, which was intended to be accompanied with

a Bill for restraining Rumbold from quitting the Kingdom, or from alienating his Property, till the final Decision of the Enquiry, gave Rise to much Difference of Opinion. Sawbridge, Lord Nugent, and various other Members, though by no means partial to the accused Person, yet declared that they considered the whole Business as unconstitutional and oppressive. Rigby, near two Months earlier, when the Subject was agitated in the House, had not hesitated to stigmatize it with Epithets of Condemnation and Derision. Accustomed to speak his Sentiments on every Topic, with a blunt and overbearing, as well as dictatorial Tone, "This Assembly," observed he, "is acting "in a Capacity, partly legislative, partly "judicial. We are now performing the "Functions of a Judge, and for ought I see, "we may have to do the Office of Hang-"man." On the present Occasion, he treated the Motion in a similar Manner. "We "are asked," said he, "to continue the Bill "in Existence, even after a Dissolution of "Parliament. What! Are we to bind five "Hundred and fifty-eight other Individuals, "to abide by and to adopt the Evidence "which we alone have heard? The Propo-"sition excites Ridicule."

Rumbold himself, addressing the House, made a very forcible and pathetic Appeal to their Feelings, no less than to their Justice. And he was heard with great Attention. In Language of Energy, he depictured his Sufferings, deprecated all further Delay, implored the House, for their own Honour and Dignity, to accelerate the Conclusion; cited Magna Charta, the Bulwark of our Liberties, where it is expressly declared that the Subject shall experience no Delay of Justice; and protested, that whatever might prove their Decision, he would not shrink from it. Nor did he omit to remark in how different a Manner, Burke, who was one of his ardent Prosecutors, had conducted himself towards Powell and Bembridge;—Men accused, like himself, but, hot proved to be criminal. Lord North, though he voted for the Motion, (probably, more from Consideration for his new Allies, than from Inclination,) yet agreed with Rigby in Opinion, that one Parliament could not bind another; still less could the present House of Commons who *heard* the Evidence, legislate for their Successors, and compel them to *decide* on that Evidence. The Solicitor General, Lee, a Man of up-

right Principles, though of rude and repulsive Manners; who had uniformly disapproved the whole Proceedings, declared that he could perceive no Reason for changing his Opinion relative to them; and therefore, as far as his individual Vote extended, he would never consent to retain Rumbold under the Terrors of a restraining Act. Nevertheless, as Pitt and Fox, Dundas and Burke, who rarely concurred on any Point, agreed on this Subject, Leave was given to bring in the Bill: but, its Features were softened down by the Lord Advocate, when he presented it, next Day. Sir Thomas's personal Property remained no longer tied up; only his landed Estate at Woodhall in the County of Hertford, being rendered responsible; and he was permitted to quit the Kingdom, from which Exercise of his Freedom he had been previously interdicted. At this Point terminated the Prosecution, which may be said to have died of a political Atrophy.

While the Rockingham Party, during many Years had been excluded from Office, they loudly declaimed against Abuses of every Description, particularly against the extra-

vagant Expenditure of the public Money in various Departments. Nor, during the very short Period that the Treasury was under their Controul, which did not exceed three Months, can it be denied that they endeavoured to manifest the Sincerity of their Engagements. Burke, who stood forward in the invidious Character of a Reformer, acquired no inconsiderable Merit with the Country at large, by his Exertions to reduce exorbitant Demands, or to abolish obsolete and overgrown Establishments of every Kind. But, with Lord Rockingham's Life, these Efforts wholly ceased. From the Period of their Union with Lord North, when they began confidently to count on a quiet Possession of Power and Emolument, at least for a few Years, in consequence of their Strength in both Houses of Parliament; they seemed to have greatly relaxed in the Severity of their political Principles. Above all, they manifested a decided Aversion to any Reforms which did not originate with themselves, and which were not subjected to their own ministerial Controul. A striking Exemplification of this Fact, presented itself before the End of the Session.

Mr. Pitt, who watched all their Conduct, and canvassed all their Measures, with jealous, as well as unremitting Attention; having brought forward a Bill, in order to establish Regulations in the Fees, Perquisites, and other Emoluments received in most of the public Offices; instead of finding any Support from the other Side of the House, as might naturally have been expected, met with the warmest Opposition in that Quarter. Lord John Cavendish possessed indeed too much Ingenuousness of Character, altogether to dispute the Utility of the Objects proposed, and therefore contented himself with partially and indirectly resisting the Plan: but, Fox and Burke loaded the Bill, its Author, and the Administration of which he had lately composed a Part, with the severest Epithets or Imputations. One of the Topics on which they commonly exhausted their Ridicule and Contempt, was the Speech pronounced from the Throne, at the Opening of the Session. This Composition, they affected to consider as a Mass of unmeaning Promises, either in themselves improper to be reduced to Practice, or never intended for any Purpose, except Delusion. Pitt,

therefore, had in View to rescue the Administration in which he had occupied a distinguished Place, from Charges so injurious; and when he introduced the Measure, he observed, that it would prove "His Ma-"jesty's Speech was not full of mere empty "Profession; but, on the contrary, the Mi-"nisters of that Period, if they had con-"tinued in Power, were determined to have "carried every Part of it into Effect." Burke, indignant, and accustomed during many Years to treat Lord North, while plunged in the Embarrassments of the American War, with Language of great Asperity, did not sufficiently recollect with how different an Antagonist he now had to contend. Rising in one of those Paroxysms of Anger to which he was subject, he exclaimed, that "the Conduct of the late Cabinet must be "exposed, for which Purpose he should "move to lay certain Papers on the Table. "The House," added he, "will then have "at once displayed before them, the Plans "of pretended Reform, contrasted with the "Practices of Abuse. From the Comparison, "it may be ascertained whether the Speech "in Question, was not a Parade of Profes-"sion and Promise, while their Measures

"were full of Criminality." Expressions so strong, were not allowed by Pitt to pass without instant Animadversion. "Let the "Question between us," replied he, "be "brought to an immediate Test, and a full "Enquiry set on Foot. The Right Honora-"ble Gentleman best knows, whether bring-"ing forward Plans of theoretical Reform, "and committing practical Abuses in Office, "do, or do not meet in the same Person." Not a Word of Reply being uttered from the Treasury Bench, Pitt's Bill of Regulation experienced no further Opposition on that Evening.

[17th June.] As it advanced however through the subsequent Stages, every Species of indirect Hostility was manifested towards it, Lord John Cavendish himself representing it as useless or unnecessary; though Pitt, after entering into all the Details of its Operation, declared his firm Conviction that it would save the Public, at least forty Thousand Pounds a Year. Fox repeated the Words used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; to which Burke added, that the Bill held out the Reverse of true œconomical Reform; substituting in its

Place, only Vexation and Expence. Some of the Comparisons and Allusions made by Burke in particular, reflecting contemptuously on Pitt, as a Projector and a Reformer, appeared, when falling from *his* Lips, to affect his Audience with no little Surprize; he having so recently, himself, laid Claim to general Approbation, in the same Character. As it might nevertheless have seemed too indecorous, not to permit the Bill to pass the House of Commons, Ministers allowed it to go up to the Peers: but, *there* the whole Force of Government drew out in array against the Measure. Even the Duke of Portland, who seldom exhibited any Specimens of Eloquence, stigmatized it, as "more a Disease, than a Remedy;" while Lord Fitzwilliam decried it, as being both trifling and vexatious in its Nature. Thus attacked, the Measure was finally negatived. Such a Repugnance, demonstrated to the very Objects of Retrenchment, which they had themselves affected to introduce only a few Months before, with so much Zeal, even into the Palace, and at the Table of the Sovereign; evidently, because they were now proposed from a hostile Source; did not fail to make an adequate Impression on

the public Mind. It operated to the Disadvantage of the Ministry in every Quarter of the Kingdom; and by unmasking them in some Measure, it silently prepared the Way for those astonishing Events in the Interior of the Government, which took Place before the Conclusion of the Year.

Some of the Abuses which Pitt had attempted to point out and expose, in the Progress of the Bill which he introduced into the House of Commons, were indeed of a Description so singular, as to excite not only Astonishment, but, even to produce a Degree of Ridicule. They served to shew what extensive Depredations had been committed upon the Public, in many, or in all the principal Offices, previous to the Period of Lord North's Resignation. That Nobleman formed the Mark, at which Pitt levelled his severest Censures; nor could the House altogether refrain from Laughter, at one of the Charges, specifying a Sum of three hundred and forty Pounds paid to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the Article of *Whipcord*. The annual Expence of the first Minister, for his individual *Stationery*, under which Denomination was however included the *Whipcord*, did not fall short,

as it appeared, of thirteen hundred Pounds. Lord North, when called on, made nevertheless not only a plausible, but, a very satisfactory Defence, to most of the alledged Items. Relative to the Consumption of *Whipcord*, which had excited a great deal of Mirth, having professed at the same Time, his total Ignorance, Robinson undertook to give some sort of Explanation; which, however ingenious, or even well founded it might be, yet diverted, more than it satisfied his Hearers.

It is certain that during the Period antecedent to 1782, the Abuses practised in many great official Departments, which exceeded all reasonable Limits, loudly demanded parliamentary Regulation. I have, myself, had Occasion to hear, if not to see, Specimens and Instances of Depredation; (for they well merited the Name;) which will hardly obtain Belief in the present Days. I knew with some Degree of Intimacy, a Lord of Trade, who possessing a Borough, and a very large Fortune, was, himself, a Member of the House of Commons in successive Parliaments. On his being sworn in at the Board of Trade, he issued an Order to provide a great Num-

ber of Pewter Inkstands for his own Use; which he afterwards commuted into one, composed of Silver. I have seen him at the Levee, dressed in a suit of green Velvet, fabricated, as Fame reported, out of the Materials ordered in his public Character, for the ostensible Purpose of making Bags to contain Office Papers. His Friends and Correspondents could recognize the Stationery, of which he had made an ample Provision, more than ten Years after the Board of Trade itself, abolished by Burke's Bill, had ceased to have any Existence. Even *since* 1782, similar Facts are said to have taken place. This Gentleman, or rather his Wife, formed one on the List of British Peerages, intended to have been either revived or created, by Lord North and Fox; the Number of which, as I recollect, amounted to Thirty-two, or Thirty-three; if the *Coalition* had forced their way a second Time into the Cabinet, in the Beginning of 1784, as they confidently expected.

Nor were these the only official and ministerial Appropriations of the public Money, to private Purposes, that distinguished the Times under our Review. From the Ministry

of Sir Robert Walpole, down to the Conclusion of Lord North's Government, few Places of considerable Emolument, in any Department, were given, wholly unfettered, to the nominal Occupant. Even under Lord Rockingham's first Administration in 1765, we find Wilkes *quartered* on the whole of the Treasury and Admiralty Boards, to the annual Amount of 1040*l.* a Year; the Marquis paying him 500*l.*; the inferior Lords of the Treasury, 60*l.* each; and the Members of the Board of Trade, each 40*l.* This curious Fact is stated in Horne's Letter to "Junius," of the 31st July, 1771. It was not attempted to be denied. When the Duke of Grafton, in June of the same Year, 1771, accepted the Office of Privy Seal, which had been previously destined for Lord Weymouth; "Junius" more than insinuates, that the last mentioned Nobleman was *quartered* by the Duke upon Rigby, who from 1768 to 1782, nominally occupied the sole Paymastership of the Forces. I knew a Lady of Quality, who having been Daughter to a Person high in Office, was commonly said to have *rode* sixteen Persons at one Time; to whom her Father had given Places, under that express Condition, or Reservation. I believe she outlived them all. Governments, military

Appointments, Offices in the Excise and Customs; in a word, Places of every Description, at Home and Abroad, were frequently loaded with *Riders*.

I remember, at the very Time of which I am now speaking, in July, 1783, when the Bill for regulating the Offices in the Exchequer, was before the House of Commons; Hussey, enumerating the Abuses practised, asked, "Have Ministers never "heard of *quartering* one Person upon ano-"ther? Will they venture to assert that "at this Moment, no Individual ostensibly "out of Place, is *quartered* upon the Sa-"lary of some Man in Employment? I mean "no Imputation on the present Government. "Such Practices, I believe, have prevailed "under all Administrations, during many "Years." Neither Fox, nor Lord North, though both the one and the other rose to speak during the Course of the Evening, attempted to contest Hussey's Assertion. Mr. Pitt himself, when introducing the Bill to which Allusion has been recently made, recapitulated many Alienations of public Money, which were then practised, but, which we can scarcely credit in the present Times. In the Navy Office, where no *Fees* were

allowed, and where, *under that Name*, they were disclaimed, the chief Clerk, whose Salary did not exceed 250*l.* a Year, received in *Gifts* annually, full 2500*l.* The Lords of the Treasury were accustomed to appoint their own Servants to the Place of Stampers in the Stamp Office; instantly granting them Leave of Absence, so that the Duty was performed by Deputy. Not only Coals and Candles, but, even Articles of Furniture were ordered by Persons in high Employment, to be sent, at the public Expence, to their Houses, both in London, and in the Country. The Post Office, and the Dock Yards, presented Facts equally demanding Reform. Pitt declared that the annual aggregate Charge on Account of Stationery Wares, exceeded eighteen Thousand Pounds; adding, that he had heard of Apartments being papered at the Expence of the Public. I feel it however incumbent on me to state, that Lord North made not only the most explicit and dignified Reply to these Allegations, as far as they regarded him personally or officially; but, demonstrated his own Disinterestedness, while at the Head of Affairs. "When I was placed," said he, "in the Controul of the Treasury, I found

" that my Predecessors had invariably been " supplied with Coals and Candles at the pub- " lic Expence, according to ancient, estab- " lished Usage. Nevertheless I did not avail " myself of the Practice, however confirmed " by Length of Time, but, purchased those " Articles out of my own Purse." He subjoined, " I not only took every Precaution, " in Order to prevent Fraud from being com- " mitted in my Name; but, I assure the House, " I will make the most rigorous Enquiries, " and if I discover Delinquency, I will leave " nothing undone to bring the Offenders to " Punishment." All these Modes of augmenting the fair Income or Salary of Office, were extinguished, as I know, by Mr. Pitt, when he became First Minister, throughout every Department of the Revenue, as far as his Influence extended. But, he was necessitated in many Cases to commit a greater Inroad on the Constitution, by distributing Honours and Dignities, as a Substitute for Emoluments.

[25th and 26th June.] Notwithstanding the Ascendant which Fox exercised over the Cabinet, and in particular, over the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an Event occurred at

which they devoured by Anticipation; and the Enjoyment of which they reluctantly postponed, even for a few Months. But, the Magnitude, Importance, and complicated Nature of the political Machine by which India was governed, demanded mature Deliberation, before they ventured to reconstruct it, as they meditated, entirely on new Principles. It was therefore finally determined in the Cabinet, to call Parliament together early in the approaching Autumn, for the Purpose; and the King was expressly made to declare the Intention, in his Speech pronounced from the Throne, on the Prorogation. Sheridan, by a wonderful Combination of almost all the Talents which can meet in Man, under the Controul of unalterable Equality of Temper, began already to compete with Burke in parliamentary Estimation; and frequently obtained a more ready or patient Hearing from the House. Every Day, while it confirmed the Ascendant which he had there acquired, placed him higher among the most distinguished Supports of Administration.

If the *Coalition* looked round at Home, they beheld at this Period, a docile Parlia-

ment, originally called together by Lord North; and of which Assembly he still retained in his Hands, many of the secret Springs or Keys, in both Houses. Abroad, every thing announced the Continuance of Peace. America was indeed lost; but, the emancipated Colonies had ceased to be hostile to Great Britain. France, exhausted even by her late Advantages beyond the Atlantic, weak in her Government, and altogether convulsed or deranged in her Finances; already nourished in her Vitals the Seeds of that fatal Revolution, which has since overturned Order, Religion, Morals, and the ancient Fabrick of Europe. Joseph the Second, Emperor of Germany, suppressing Monasteries and religious Establishments with one Hand; with the other, in direct Violation of all subsisting Treaties, rashly and wantonly demolished to their Foundations, the Works of the Garrison Cities of the Austrian Netherlands. I witnessed, myself, during the Course of that Summer, the Expulsion of the last Remains of the Dutch Troops maintained in the Barrier Towns, and the Destruction or Demolition of the Fortifications themselves. Except Luxembourg, placed at one Extremity,

towards Germany; and the Citadel of Antwerp, situate at the other Termination of Flanders; it was obvious that scarcely any Obstacle remained, to exclude France from overrunning the Low Countries at her Pleasure. If these Reflections appeared however to cause no Uneasiness to Ministers, yet a domestic Source of just Anxiety which they could not surmount, presented itself in the fixed and unconquerable Alienation of the King. In vain did they endeavour to insinuate themselves into his personal Favour. He received with Formality and Coldness, all their Advances; allowed them to dictate Measures; gave them Audiences, signed Papers, and complied with their Advice: but, he neither admitted them to his Confidence, nor ceased to consider them as Objects of his individual Aversion. The Consciousness of this Sentiment existing in the royal Bosom, which sunk deep into Fox's Mind, naturally impelled him to substitute other Foundations, on which to construct, and to perpetuate his ministerial Greatness.

No Man who has enjoyed the Opportunities of studying Fox's Character, or of being

informed respecting his political Line of Action, to which I have had Access; can however doubt that he would have preferred Gentleness before Force, and Conciliation in Preference to harsher Methods of confirming his Power, if the Means of accomplishing it had been open to him. He well knew how difficult it was to retain Office in Defiance of the Sovereign; and he could not be ignorant that by his Junction with Lord North, though he had stormed the Cabinet, he had lost his Popularity. All his original Principles were monarchical, and even his Ambition partook of the Pliability of his Nature. His very Necessities rendered him ductile, and loudly called on him to bestow some Attention on his private Fortune. In fact, we may question whether a more complying Minister, or one more disposed to have gratified his Master in every legitimate Object of royal Desire, could have been found among His Majesty's Subjects. Mr. Pitt manifested by no means the same Acquiescence, or the same Suavity and ready Submission, on a Variety of Occasions, when afterwards in Office. He was on the contrary, often intractable and pertinacious, as I know, even upon Points painfully interest-

ing to the King. But, if George the Third did not regard him with Affection, he at least considered him with Esteem; and unfortunately for Fox, it was not easy to acquire the Favour of the Sovereign, except through the Channel of his moral Approbation. *Hoc fonte derivata Clades.* It was in vain that the Secretary watched for a Moment of Weakness, of which he would no doubt have profited, to insinuate himself into the royal Confidence. There existed no Mistress to facilitate his Approaches, to soften Asperities, and to form the Medium of Reconciliation. Under George the First, the Duchess of Kendal, or the Countess of Darlington, would have performed that Office for him, though not gratuitously; As Mrs. Howard, or Madame de Walmoden, would equally have done with George the Second.

Nor can we reasonably question on the other Hand, that His Majesty justly appreciated the Secretary's Character, and was well aware, that he would not prove more intractable or rigid while in Office, than other Men. But he did not choose to avail

himself of such Assistance. I know that some three or four Years after the Time of which I now speak, the King finding himself alone with the Duke of Queensberry, who had been one of the Lords of his Bedchamber ever since his Accession to the Crown, and with whom he was accustomed to converse unreservedly on many Subjects; the Discourse turned on the Coalition Ministry. "Sir," said the Duke, "Your Ma-"jesty might safely have allowed Mr. Fox "to remain in Office, and you would have "found in him every Disposition to comply "with your Wishes. I can assert as an "undoubted Fact, that there was scarcely "any Proof of his personal Devotion, or any "Sacrifice that he would not have made, "to acquire your Favour." "He never said "as much to me," answered the King. "No, "Sir," replied the Duke, "assuredly he "did not, because Your Majesty never gave "him any Encouragement to venture on "taking such a Step." George the Third, during the eight or nine Months of his Captivity, only looked to Emancipation, and never attempted to gain or to conciliate his Ministerial Jailors.

Meanwhile emerging, as the Duties of his high Office compelled him, from the Dissipation and Society of Brookes's; Fox, during this brilliant, but, transitory Portion of his Life, fulfilled with universal Approbation, I might even say, Admiration, all the essential, no less than the ostensible Functions of Secretary of State. At his House in Grafton Street, where he resided, he received and entertained the foreign Ministers then resident in London from the various European Courts, with distinguished *Eclat*. They, who were never weary of his Conversation, respected his Talents, while they admired the immense Variety of his Information on all diplomatic Points. Delighted at the Facility with which he wrote or conversed in French, an Accomplishment not so general at that Time, as it is now become; they were not less gratified by the liberal Hospitality of his Table, added to the noble Amenity and Frankness of his Manners. Nor can it be sufficiently regretted, that a Man so much formed to have done Honor, and to have rendered essential Service to his Country, as Fox; should, by the Errors or Imprudencies of his own Conduct, have rendered himself obnoxious to

his Sovereign, and thus have excluded himself from Office. We cannot reflect without Concern, that in the Course of a Life prolonged to its fifty-eighth Year, Fox sat only about nineteen Months in the Cabinet, taken altogether: while Pitt, who terminated his comparatively short Career at forty-seven, passed almost his whole Life after he attained to Manhood, in the first Employments; or rather, in the highest Situation of State, that of Prime Minister. However we may dispute as to the Superiority of *Talents* in these two extraordinary and illustrious Men, Posterity will be at no Loss to decide respecting the Superiority of their *Judgment*.

[August.] Pitt availing himself of this Interval of political Leisure, afforded him by the Triumph of the *Coalition*, and the Recess of Parliament, endeavoured to catch a hasty Glimpse of the Continent, which he had scarcely ever before visited. As if he foresaw that no other Occasion would ever again present itself for the Gratification of his Curiosity, he crossed over to Calais, and directed his Course in the first Instance, to Rheims. Lord Thurlow followed his Ex-

ample. Mr. George Rose, who had been one of the two Secretaries of the Treasury, when Pitt filled the Post of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and who has since deservedly risen by his distinguished financial Talents or Services, to much higher official Situations; accompanied Lord Thurlow. I met them by Accident, at Antwerp. Pitt proceeding afterwards to Paris, was presented by our Embassador, the Duke of Manchester, to Louis the Sixteenth, at Fontainbleau, where the French Court always passed a considerable Portion of the Autumn. His Name, and the Fame of his distinguished Abilities, which had preceded his Appearance, disposed all to admire him: but, the King, in Compliance with the stupid *Etiquette*, that interdicted him from speaking to Foreigners, who were presented at Court; when added to his natural Shyness; did not, I believe, exchange one Word with Pitt. The Queen, whose superior Energy of Mind emancipated her from such Restraints, treated him with the utmost Distinction. Marie Antoinette entered into Conversation with him as far as his cold Manner, encreased by an imperfect Knowledge of the French Language, would permit him to

engage in Discourse. "*Monsieur*," said she to him, on his retiring, with a Manner even more expressive than the Words, "*Je suis charmée de vous voir, et de vous avoir vue.*" Pitt took Care to return to London from his short Excursion, in Time to attend the Meeting of Parliament.

While the two Leaders of Ministry, and of Opposition, were thus respectively occupied, the one in his official Duties at Home, and the other on the Continent; the King became a Prey to habitual Dejection. Throughout all the Troubles of his Reign, when Wilkes and when "Junius" excited Disaffection among his Subjects, as well as during the most distressful Periods of the American War; or when the Capital exhibited Scenes of Outrage and of popular Violence; he had maintained a serene Countenance, and manifested an unshaken Firmness. But, his Fortitude sunk under the Bondage to which the *Coalition* had subjected him. His natural Equality of Temper, Suavity of Manners, and Cheerfulness of Deportment, forsaking him in a great Measure, he became silent, thoughtful, taciturn, and uncommunicative. Sometimes, when he re-

sided at Windsor, mounting his Horse, accompanied by an Equerry and a single Footman; after riding ten or twelve Miles, scarcely opening his Lips, he would dismount in order to inspect his Hounds, or to view his farming Improvements: then getting on horseback again, he returned back to the Queen's Lodge in the same pensive or disconsolate Manner. From time to time, he admitted Mr. Jenkinson and Lord Thurlow, both of whom were Privy Councillors, to pay their respects to him. He even repeated to the latter of those distinguished Persons, his Wish already expressed, of going over to his Electoral Dominions for a few Months; and abandoning to the Ministers, the Power of which they had got Possession. But, Lord Thurlow, after again dissuading him from having recourse to any strong or violent Expedients for procuring present Emancipation; exhorted him to wait for a favorable Occasion, which Fox's Impetuosity or Imprudence would probably furnish, to liberate himself from the Yoke of the *Coalition*. Time soon presented the propitious Moment for putting this Advice into Execution.

[September.] His Majesty remaining inflexible in his Resolution not to create any *British* Peers on the ministerial Recommendation, they contented themselves with tendering him a List of eight or nine *Irish* Peerages. However reluctantly, he yet consented to exercise this Act of the Prerogative. Nearly about the same Time, the definitive Treaties of Peace were concluded with France and Spain; while David Hartley, who had been sent to Paris expressly for the Purpose, signed another Treaty with America. Hartley, who was Member for Hull, though destitute of any personal Recommendations of Manner, possessed some Talent, with unsullied Probity, added to indefatigable Perseverance and Labour. His Sight, which was very defective, compelled him always to wear Spectacles. The Rockingham Party contained not among them a more zealous Adherent; but, in Parliament, the intolerable Length, when increased by the Dulness of his Speeches, rendered him an absolute Nuisance, even to his own Friends. His rising always operated like a Dinner Bell. One Day, that he had thus wearied out the Patience of his Audience, having nearly cleared a very full House, which was re-

duced from three Hundred, to about eighty Persons, half asleep; just at a Time when he was expected to close, he unexpectedly moved that the Riot Act should be read, as a Document necessary to elucidate, or to prove, some of his foregoing Assertions. Burke, who sat close by him, and who wishing to speak to the Question under Discussion, which was a Part of the *Budget*, had been bursting with Impatience for more than an Hour and a Half; finding himself so cruelly disappointed, bounced up, exclaiming, while he laid hold of Hartley by the Coat, "The Riot Act! my dear Friend, "the Riot Act! to what Purpose! don't "you see that the Mob is already complete "ly dispersed? You have not twenty Hear "ers." The sarcastic Wit of this Remark, in the State of the House, which presented to the View only empty Benches; when encreased by the Manner and Tone of Despair, in which Burke uttered it; convulsed every Person present except Hartley, who never changed Countenance, and insisted on the Riot Act being read by one of the Clerks. Lord North himself recounted this Story to Sir John Macpherson, from whom I received it.

I have heard the late Earl of Liverpool, then Mr. Jenkinson, say, that Hartley having risen to speak, about Five o'Clock, during the Session of the Year 1779, in the Month of June, or of July; and it being generally understood, that he would undoubtedly continue a long Time on his Legs, as he was to conclude with making a Motion; Mr. Jenkinson profited of the Occasion to breathe some Country Air. He walked, therefore, from the House, to his Residence in Parliament Street; from whence mounting his Horse, he rode out to a Place that he rented, some Miles from Town. There he dined, strolled about, and in the Evening returned slowly to London. As it was then near Nine o'Clock; before he went down a second Time to the House of Commons, he dispatched a Servant to Mrs. Bennet, the Housekeeper, requesting to be informed of the Names of the principal Persons who had spoken in the Course of the Debate, and likewise to know about what Hour a Division might probably be expected to take Place. The Footman brought back for Answer, that Mr. Hartley continued still speaking, but, was expected to close soon; and that no other Person had yet risen except

himself. In Fact, when Mr. Jenkinson entered the House soon afterwards, Hartley remained exactly in the same Place and Attitude as he was, near five Hours before; regardless of the general Impatience, or of the profound Repose into which the Majority of his Hearers were sunk. However incredible this Anecdote appears, I have related it without Exaggeration.

[October.] Autumn produced universal Tranquillity; a Peace with Holland, following the Treaties made with France, Spain, and America. In India, Hostilities had been long terminated with the Mharattas; and the Death of Hyder Ally, the most formidable Enemy with whom we had to contend in the East, which took place in December, 1782, enabled us to continue the Contest with France in that Quarter of the World, till the Arrival at Madras, of the Intelligence of a General Pacification in Europe. I availed myself of a fortunate Circumstance, to convey the first Information of this Event to India, and thereby stopped the further Effusion of Blood. Lord Walsingham, who honored me with his Friendship, having in his Possession two "Extra-"ordinary Gazettes," issued on the 23rd of

January, 1783, gave me one of them; which Gazette I forwarded on the 25th of that Month, by the common Post, overland, through Vienna, Constantinople, Aleppo, and Bussora, to a Friend at Madras. It contained the Preliminaries of Peace just signed at Paris, between Great Britain, France, and Spain. The King's Ministers, as well as the East India Company, were equally bound by every Principle of Humanity and Policy, to have anticipated that Gazette. But Lord Sydney, then Secretary of State for the Department, having delayed, (on Account of the unsettled Nature of the Administration, which continued during many Weeks in a Species of Suspension, after Lord Shelburne's Resignation;) to dispatch the "Crocodile" Frigate, with the Intelligence; and the Court of Directors remaining from the same Cause, equally negligent or torpid; my Letter reached Madras, about the middle of the following Month of June. Full six Weeks elapsed, subsequent to that Time, before any official Information, either from the Court of Versailles, from the British Government, or from the East India House, arrived on the Coast of Coromandel. Our Position, at the Moment when my Account was received in that Quarter of the Globe,

might be esteemed most critical, as we had formed the Siege of Cuddalore, and were under hourly Apprehension of a Sally being made on the Part of the Enemy; whose Force within the Walls, far exceeded the Number of our own Troops stationed in the Trenches before the Place. Under these Circumstances, Lord Macartney, then Governor of Madras, having dispatched his Secretary, Sir George Staunton, to Cuddalore, with the Gazette which my Friend had laid before him; Bussy, who commanded the French Forces, recognized its Authenticity, and consented to publish an immediate Cessation of Arms. When the Account of so extraordinary a Fact was received in London from Madras, early in 1784, together with the Recognition of its beneficial Results to the East India Company; a Member of the Court of Directors, who then enjoyed great Consideration in Leadenhall Street; impressed with a Sense of the public Benefits that had accrued from it, evinced a Desire of procuring for me, as its Author, some honorary Mark of the Company's Satisfaction or Gratitude. But, on his mentioning the Subject to the Chairman, and Deputy Chairman, they observed, that to thank me for sending out Intelligence of the

Conclusion of Peace, must seem to imply a tacit Condemnation of their own Delay, in so long withholding, or rather, in neglecting to forward the Information. The Business remained therefore unnoticed; but I do not the less reflect upon it, as one of the most gratifying Acts of my whole Life.

Hyder Ally, who had raised himself, like Buonaparte, from the Rank of a military Officer in the Service of his Native Prince, the Rajah or Sovereign of Mysore, to the Possession of supreme Power in that Country; was, beyond all Competition, the greatest Man whom India had beheld, since the Entry of Nadir Shaw into Dehli; or perhaps, since the Death of Aurung Zebe. It was twice the Lot of Hyder, to overrun the Carnatic, and to penetrate to the Gates of Madras. His first Irruption, which took Place in 1769, may even be said to have dictated the Treaty of Peace, concluded under the very Walls of the City. Governor Du Pré, who then presided over the East India Company's Affairs on the Coast of Coromandel; held more than one Interview with Hyder, while the Negotiations were still pending, in order to adjust, or to accelerate the Conditions. Insensibly, during these personal

Conferences, as their mutual Distrust and Distance wore off, the Nabob put many Questions to Du Pré, indicating equally the Enlargement of his Mind, and displaying the easy Familiarity of his Manners. One of the Circumstances which most excited the English Governor's Astonishment, was to see that Hyder had no Eye-brows; nor, indeed, a single Hair left on any Part of his Face. A Man constantly attended near him, whose sole Function and Employment consisted in pulling out, with a Pair of Nippers, the first Hair that made its Appearance on the Sultan's Countenance. Hyder perceiving the Surprize which this Fact occasioned in Du Pré, said to him, "I observe, that you wonder at my having no Eye-brows; as well as at my Attention in causing every Hair that appears on my Face, to be immediately eradicated. The Reason I will explain to you. I am the Nabob of Mysore, and it forms an Object of Policy with me, that my Subjects should see no Face in my Dominions, resembling the Countenance of their Sovereign." Du Pré assured Sir John Macpherson, to whom he related this Anecdote, that he believed Hyder's Practice proved him to possess a

consummate Knowledge of Human Nature, especially of his own Subjects. "For," added he, "the Impression which the Na-" bob's Physiognomy made upon myself, "was not a little encreased by its Singu-" larity." From the universal Testimony of all those Europeans who had Opportunities of knowing this extraordinary Prince, it is unquestionable that his Manners, Voice, and Deportment, were the most soft and ingratiating to be imagined, whenever he wished to please, or affected to be gracious and benign: but, he was terrible, and often ferocious in his Anger, like the Caliph Haroun-Alraschid, or like Peter the First of Russia. He died of Abcesses, or Cancers, in his Loins; probably, the Consequences of Debauchery; which carried him off before he attained to old Age. After a War, which from its Commencement at Lexington in 1775, had lasted near eight Years, the World began to enjoy Repose: but, the Efforts made by the *Coalition* to consolidate their political Power, soon produced at Home the most violent Convulsions, which terminated in their total Downfal.

Two great legal Characters finished their Course nearly together, in the Autumn of

1783. Dunning in August; and Wallace, in November. Both were eminent in their Profession; but, all the intellectual Superiority lay on the Side of the former. Yet Fortune had a greater Share than Merit or Talents, in elevating the one to the Peerage, while the other failed of attaining to that Eminence. If Lord North's Administration had continued two or three Years longer, and, consequently if Lord Shelburne had been excluded from Office, their Destiny might probably have been reversed. I have been assured, that a short Time before Lord Ashburton's Decease, these two distinguished Lawyers finding themselves by Accident in the same Inn at Bagshot; the one, on his Way down into Devonshire, and the other returning from thence to London; both of them conscious that their Recovery from the Disorders under which they laboured, was desperate;—expressed a strong mutual Wish to enjoy a last Interview with each other. For that Purpose, they were carried into the same Apartment, laid down on two Sofas nearly opposite, and remained together for a long Time in Conversation. They then parted, as Men who could not hope to meet again in this World. By Wallace's Decease, Lee

became Attorney-General, and Mansfield was replaced in his former Situation of Solicitor-General, which he had filled under Lord North's Administration.

I passed a considerable Part of the Autumn with Lord Sackville, at Drayton in Northamptonshire. Though in his sixty-eighth Year, he possessed Activity of Body, Cheerfulness of Temper, and the perfect Possession of all his Faculties. Drayton had formerly belonged to the Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough; from whom it passed into the Possession of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, by his Marriage with Lady Mary Mordaunt, under the Reign of William the Third. He did not however long retain it, having been divorced from the Duchess, on Account of a criminal Connexion which she carried on with Sir John Germain: and as the Duke had no Issue by her, Drayton reverted to the Lady. Lord Sackville having, as it is well known, assumed the Name of Germain, and having inherited the Estate of Drayton, it was natural that I should enquire how he came to be called to that Succession. He has frequently related to me the Particulars, which I shall recount in his own Words.

"Sir John Germain's Extraction," said he, "which was uncertain, and variously reported, has given rise to much Discussion. "His reputed Father bore Arms, as a private Soldier, in the Life Guards of William "the Second, Prince of Orange: but his "Mother, who possessed great personal "Charms, Fame asserted to have been that "Prince's Mistress; and her Son was believed to stand in a very close Degree of "Consanguinity to King William the Third. "Other Circumstances tend to confirm this "Opinion. Sir John Germain inherited no "paternal Coat of Arms; but he assumed, "or rather used, as his Seal and armorial "Bearing, a red Cross: meaning thereby "probably to imply, that his Pretensions "ascended higher than his ostensible Birth. "Even when, by the Provisions of his Widow, Lady Betty Germain's Will, I inherited Drayton, on the Condition of assuming the *Name* of Germain, no Mention was "made of the *Arms*, as is customary in "almost all similar Cases. King William, "with whom Sir John came over here from "Holland, in 1688, unquestionably regarded "him with distinguishing Affection, and "advanced him in Life. He became a

"Member of Parliament, received the Honor
"of Knighthood; and various pecuniary
"Grants or Donations to a considerable
"Amount, were conferred on him by that
"Prince.

"Sir John Germain, who possessed a very
"handsome Person, was always a distin-
"guished Favorite of the other Sex. His
"Connexion with the Duchess of Norfolk,
"finally procured him this Place and Estate,
"she having married him, after obtaining a
"Divorce from her first Husband. They
"lived together several Years; but, no Chil-
"dren being left alive, and the Title of Earl
"of Peterborough having reverted to a col-
"lateral Branch of the Mordaunt Family,
"she bequeathed to him, by her Will, in the
"Year 1705, the House and Property of
"Drayton, which lay entirely in her own
"Disposal. Sir John, who, though he was
"naturalized, and become by long Resi-
"dence in this Country, in a great Degree
"an Englishman; retained nevertheless ma-
"ny of the Habits of a Native of Holland,
"attached himself much to my Mother.
"She being the Daughter of Marshal Col-
"year, Brother to the first Earl of Port-

"more, who had entered early into the "Dutch Service, and who was an old "Friend of Sir John Germain; he always "called her his Countrywoman, visited fre- "quently at my Father's House, and was "kindly received by the Duke and Duchess "of Dorset. Finding himself in Possession "of a considerable landed Property, after the "Death of his Wife; and desirous of trans- "mitting it to his own Descendants, but "being destitute of any natural Connexions, "he meditated to engraft himself on some "distinguished Family of this Kingdom. "For the express Purpose, while resident "at Bristol Wells, on Account of his Health, "he cast his Eyes upon Lady Betty Berke- "ley, a Daughter of the Earl of Berkeley; "whose Birth, Character, and Accomplish- "ments, rendered her every Way worthy of "his Choice. The Marriage took Place. "She was indeed, many Years younger than "Sir John; but, as she possessed a superior "Understanding, added to the most correct "Deportment, she acquired great Influence "over him. Having been, herself, previously "intimate with the Duchess of Dorset, the "Friendship between the two Families be- "came cemented by the Alliance. Sir John

" Germain had several Children by her, " who all died young; and in the Even- " ing of his Life becoming a Martyr to the " Gout, as well as to other Diseases, Lady " Betty assiduously performed every Duty " of an affectionate Wife, and of a careful " Nurse, about his Person.

" A short Time before his Decease, which " happened in the Year 1718, having called " her to his Bedside; ' Lady Betty,' said he, " ' I have made you a very indifferent Hus- " band, and particularly of late Years, when " Infirmities have rendered me a Burden to " myself: but I shall not be much longer " troublesome to you. I advise you never " again to marry an old Man: but I strenu- " ously exhort you to marry when I am " gone, and I will endeavour to put it in " your Power. You have fulfilled every " Obligation towards me in an exemplary " Manner, and I wish to demonstrate my " Sense of your Merits. I have, therefore, " by my Will, bequeathed you this Estate, " which I received from my first Wife; and " which, as she gave to me, so I leave to " you. I hope you will marry, and have " Children to inherit it. But, if Events

"should determine otherwise, or if you "should not have Issue that survive you, "it would give me Pleasure to think, that "Drayton descended after your Decease, "to a younger Son of my Friend, the Du- "chess of Dorset.' In Consequence of this "*Wish*, expressed by Sir John Germain on "his Death-bed, I now enjoy the Estate. "Lady Betty, though young when left a "Widow, and though she survived him "above fifty Years, never married a second "Time. Her Friendship for my Mother, "always continued without Diminution; "and her Respect for the Desire manifested "by her Husband, induced her to fulfil his "Wishes, to the Exclusion of any of her "own Relations."

While writing on this Subject, I shall endeavour to throw into one Point, some of the numerous Particulars relative to his own Family, which in the Course of Conversation I heard from Lord Sackville. They all may be said to hold, more or less, to English History. In order to give them more Verity and Accuracy, I shall, as nearly as I am able, present them in his own Words.

"The Sackvilles," said he, "who came "into England with the Conqueror, and "who derived their Name from a small Vil- "lage of Low Normandy, have never branch- "ed in the Lapse of more than seven Hun- "dred Years. During the two last Cen- "turies, the Family has produced three dis- "tinguished Men; of whom the first was "the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, whom our "great Elizabeth thought worthy to suc- "ceed Lord Burleigh in that high Office, "and whom James the First created Earl "of Dorset. It would have been fortunate "for the Scottish King, if he had presided "longer in the Councils of the Crown; but "he soon followed his royal Mistress, and "made way, after a short Interval, for those "Favourites, Carr and Villiers, who covered "James with Disgrace. His Grandson, "Edward, Earl of Dorset, the Friend and "Contemporary of Lord Herbert of Cher- "bury; but, better known by his Duel with "Lord Bruce, performed an eminent Part "under Charles the First. He accompa- "nied that Prince during the civil Wars, "and fought in most of the Actions, from "Edge Hill, down to Naseby. But, like "the virtuous Lord Falkland, he regretted

" and lamented the very Advantages, to " which he contributed by his Sword. Many " of his Letters, written between 1643, and " 1646, which are preserved among the Dor- " set Papers; descriptive of the Scenes of " Havock then acting in every Part of the " Kingdom, convey a high Idea of his Prin- " ciples. His Days were embittered and ab- " breviated by his royal Master's tragical " End, which he only survived about three " Years.

" My Grandfather, Charles, commonly " called the witty Earl of Dorset, died about " ten Years before I was born, after having " survived in a great Degree his Faculties. " He was during his whole Life, the Patron " of Men of Genius, and the Dupe of Wo- " men. Bountiful beyond Measure to both, " though he inherited not only the paternal " Estate of the Sackvilles, but likewise, that " of the Cranfields, Earls of Middlesex, in " right of his Mother; yet at his Decease, " my Father, then eighteen Years of Age, " possessed so slender a Fortune, that his " Guardians, when they sent him to travel " on the Continent, allowed him only eight " hundred Pounds a Year for his Provision.

"Charles, Earl of Dorset, married three "Times; but, only one of these Marriages "contributed either to his Honour, or to his "Felicity. His first Wife was the cele- "brated Countess of Falmouth, well known "by her Gallantries; the Miss *Bagot* of "'Grammont's Memoirs,' whom Dryden "has designated as

'A teeming Widow, but a barren Wife.'

"Happily she left him no Issue; and in his "second matrimonial Connexion, he con- "sulted not only his Inclination, but, his "Judgment, when he gave his Hand to a "Daughter of the Earl of Northampton. He "had then nearly attained his fiftieth Year; "and as he was only twenty-three at the "Time of Charles the Second's Restoration, "the Excesses of that dissolute Reign, in "which Lord Dorset led the Way, had al- "ready enfeebled his Constitution. Strongly "attached to the Principles of civil Liberty, "he quitted James the Second, when that "infatuated Prince attempted to introduce "Popery; and conducted the Princess Anne "of Denmark from her Father's Palace at "Whitehall, to the Coach which waited for

"her in St. James's Park, in order to con-
"vey her to Nottingham. While crossing
"over from the Palace to the Park, by
"Night, and in Winter, one of her Royal
"Highness's Shoes sticking fast in the Mud,
"the Accident threatened to impede her
"Escape: but, Lord Dorset immediately
"drawing off his white Glove, put it on the
"Princess's foot, and placed her safely in
"the Carriage. To King William, my
"Grandfather rendered himself not less ac-
"ceptable, than he had been to Charles the
"Second; and I have always been assured
"that it only depended on himself, to have
"been raised to a Dukedom under William's
"Reign: but, his Wife's Relations, the
"Comptons, treating the Matter, when he
"mentioned it to them, with great Indiffer-
"ence, he said, 'the Earldom of Dorset
"was quite good enough for him.' In fact,
"my Father only attained to that Dignity,
"near thirty Years afterwards, under George
"the First.

"Extenuated by Pleasures and Indul-
"gences, the Earl of Dorset sunk under a
"premature old Age; though not as early
"as Rochester, Buckingham, and so many

" others of his Contemporaries had done, in-
" cluding Charles the Second himself; all
" of whom fell Victims to their immoderate
" Pursuit of Enjoyments. A few Years be-
" fore he died, he married a Woman named
" Roche, of very obscure Connexions, who
" held him in a Sort of Captivity down at
" Bath, where he expired at about sixty-
" nine. She suffered few Persons to ap-
" proach him during his last Illness, or ra-
" ther, Decay; and was supposed to have
" converted his Weakness of Mind, to her
" own Objects of personal Acquisition. He
" was indeed considered to be fallen into a
" State of such Imbecility, as would render
" it necessary to appoint Guardians, with a
" View to prevent his injuring the Family
" Estate: but, the Intention was neverthe-
" less abandoned. You have no doubt
" heard, and it is a Fact, that with a View
" of ascertaining whether Lord Dorset con-
" tinued to be of a sane Mind, *Prior*, whom
" he had patronized and always regarded
" with Predilection, was sent down to Bath,
" by the Family. Having obtained Access
" to the Earl, and conversed with him, Prior
" made his Report in these Words. ' Lord
" Dorset is certainly greatly declined in his

" Understanding; but he *drivels* so much
" better Sense even now, than any other
" Man can *talk*, that you must not call me
" into Court, as a Witness to prove him an
" Idiot."

" My Father having lost his own Mother,
" when very young, was brought up chiefly
" by the Dowager Countess of Northamp-
" ton, his Grandmother; who being parti-
" cularly acceptable to Queen Mary, she
" commanded the Countess always to bring
" her little Grandson, Lord Buckhurst, to
" Kensington Palace, though at that Time
" hardly four Years of Age; and he was al-
" lowed to amuse himself with a Child's
" Cart in the Gallery. King William, like
" almost all Dutchmen, never failed to attend
" the Tea Table, every Evening. It hap-
" pened that Her Majesty having, one After-
" noon, by his Desire, made Tea, and wait-
" ing for the King's Arrival, who was en-
" gaged on Business in his Cabinet, at the
" other Extremity of the Gallery; the Boy
" hearing the Queen express her Impatience
" at the Delay, ran away to the Closet, drag-
" ging after him the Cart. When he arrived
" at the Door, he knocked; and the King

"asking 'Who is there?' 'Lord Buck,' an-
"swered he, 'And what does Lord Buck
"want with me?' replied His Majesty.
"'You must come to Tea directly,' said he,
"'the Queen is waiting for you.' King
"William immediately laid down his Pen,
"and opened the Door; then taking the
"Child in his Arms, placed Lord Buckhurst
"in the Cart, and seizing the Pole, drew
"them both along the Gallery, quite to the
"Room in which were seated the Queen,
"Lady Northampton, and the Company.
"But, no sooner had he entered the Apart-
"ment, than, exhausted with the Effort,
"which had forced the Blood upon his
"Lungs, and being naturally asthmatic, he
"threw himself into a Chair, and for some
"Minutes was incapable of uttering a Word,
"breathing with the utmost Difficulty. The
"Countess of Northampton, shocked at the
"Consequences of her Grandson's Indiscre-
"tion, which threw the whole Circle into
"great Consternation, would have punished
"him: but the King interposed in his be-
"half; and the Story is chiefly interesting,
"because, (as serving to shew how kindly
"he could behave towards a troublesome
"Child,) it places that Prince in a more ami-

" able Point of View, than he is commonly
" represented in History. Henry the Fourth
" of France, when playing with his own
" Children, could not have manifested more
" Amenity, or good Humour. The Queen
" being accustomed to take Lord Buckhurst
" in her Arms, and to caress him when he
" came to Kensington; his Nurse, aware of
" the Circumstance, gave him secretly a
" written Paper, which she charged him to
" deliver privately to Her Majesty. He
" did so, without acquainting Lady Nor-
" thampton, who being present, would have
" interposed to prevent him: but the Queen
" insisted on perusing its Contents. It con-
" tained a Petition drawn up by the Woman,
" in Favour of her Brother, then condemned
" to Death for a capital Crime. Queen
" Mary, touched with the Incident, laid it
" before the King, who caused Enquiry to
" be made into the Circumstances of the
" Case, with a View of extending Mercy to
" the Culprit. On Examination, the Crime,
" from its Magnitude, not admitting of Par-
" don, the Queen, as the only Alleviation left
" in her Power to bestow, gave Lord Buck-
" hurst a Purse containing ten Jacobusses;
" enjoining him to present it to his Nurse

" from herself, with the Assurances of her " Concern at the Impossibility that existed, " of saving her Brother's Life."

" I was born," continued Lord Sackville, " in the Year 1716, in the Haymarket, where " my Father then resided; and received my " Name from George the First, who was my " Godfather, having honoured the Ceremony " of my Baptism by his personal Presence. " One of the earliest Circumstances which " made an Impression on my Mind, was that " of being carried, at five Years of Age, by " the Servants, to the Gate of St. James's " Palace, in order to see the great Duke of " Marlborough, as he came out of Court. " He was then in a State of Caducity; but " still retained the Vestiges of a most grace- " ful Figure, though he was obliged to be " supported by a Servant on each Side, " while the Tears ran down his Cheeks, just " as he is drawn by Dr. Johnson, who " says,

" From Marlborough's Eyes, the Tears of Dotage flow."

" The Populace cheered him, while passing " through the Crowd to enter his Carriage.

"I have however heard my Father assert, "that the Duke of Marlborough by no "Means fell into irrecoverable or settled "Dotage, as we commonly suppose; but, "manifested at Times a sound Understand- "ing, till within a very short Period of his "Decease; occasionally attending the Privy "Council, and sometimes speaking in his "official Capacity, on Points of public Bu- "siness, with his former Ability.

"No Man displayed greater Zeal than my "Father, for the Succession in the House of "Brunswic. After Queen Anne's Death in "1714, he was sent to Hanover; returned "with the new King from Heren Hausen to "England, in September of the same Year; "and had the Honour to accompany George "the First, in the Coach which conveyed him "on his Landing, from Greenwich to Lon- "don. Thirty-three Years earlier, he had been "a Suitor for the Hand of the Queen, whom "he then succeeded; having come over with "that View, from Germany to this Country, "in 1681, by Permission of his Father, Er- "nest Augustus; but, the Proposition failed "of Success. On his Return, riding a com- "mon Post Horse from London to Gravesend

" where he took Shipping for Holland, the " Horse and the Road being equally bad, he " got a severe Fall, and arrived at Gravesend, " covered with Mud. The King, who re- " lated this Circumstance to Lord Dorset, " as they came up together in the Coach, " recognized, and pointed out the Spot " where the Misadventure befel him.

" When the Intelligence of his Decease, " which took Place near Osnabrugh, in the " end of July, 1727, arrived in London; the " Cabinet having immediately met, thought " proper to dispatch the Duke of Dorset " with the News, to the Prince of Wales. " He then resided at Kew, in a State of great " Alienation from the King; the two Courts " maintaining no Communication. Some " little Time being indispensable, to enable " my Father to appear in a suitable Manner " before the new Monarch, he sent forward " the Duchess his Wife, in order to announce " the Event. She arrived at Kew, just as " the Prince, according to his invariable " Custom, having undressed himself after " Dinner, had lain down in Bed. The Du- " chess demanding Permission to see him " immediately, on Business of the greatest

"Importance, the Servants acquainted the "Princess of Wales with her Arrival; and "the Duchess, without a Moment's Hesita- "tion, informed her Royal Highness, that "George the First lay dead at Osnabrugh; "that the Cabinet had ordered her Husband "to be the Bearer of the Intelligence to his "Successor, and that the Duke would fol- "low her in a short Time. She added, that "not a Moment should be lost in communi- "cating so great an Event to the Prince, as "the Ministers wished him to come up to "London that same Evening, in order to sum- "mon a Privy Council, to issue a Proclama- "tion, and take other requisite Measures, at "the Commencement of a new Reign.

"To the Propriety of all these Steps, the "Princess assented; but, at the same Time "informed the Duchess, that she could not "venture to enter her Husband's Room, as "he had only just taken off his Clothes, and "composed himself to Sleep. 'Besides,' "added she, 'the Prince will not give Credit "to the Intelligence, but, will exclaim that "it is a Fabrication, designed for the Purpose "of exposing him.' The Duchess continu- "ing nevertheless to remonstrate with Her

" Royal Highness; on the injurious Conse-
" quences of losing Time; and adding, that
" the Duke of Dorset would expect to find
" the Prince not only apprized of it, but,
" ready to accompany him to London; the
" Princess of Wales took off her Shoes,
" opened the Chamber Door softly, and ad-
" vanced up to the Bed-side, while my Mo-
" ther remained at the Threshold, till she
" should be allowed to enter the Apartment.
" As soon as the Princess came near the
" Bed, a Voice from under the Clothes cried
" out in German, 'Was is das?' 'I am
" come, Sir,' answered she, 'to announce
" to you the Death of the King, which has
" taken Place in Germany.' 'That is one
" damned Trick,' returned the Prince, 'I do
" not believe one Word of it.' 'Sir,' said the
" Princess, 'it is most certain. The Duchess
" of Dorset has just brought the Intelli-
" gence, and the Duke will be here immedi-
" ately. The Ministers hope that you will
" repair to Town, this very Evening, as your
" Presence there is indispensable. Her Royal
" Highness then threw herself on her Knees,
" to kiss the new King's Hand; and beckon-
" ing to the Duchess of Dorset to advance,
" she came in likewise, knelt down, and

"assured him of the indisputable Truth of "his Father's Decease. Convinced at length "of the Fact, he consented to get up and "dress himself. The Duke of Dorset ar- "riving in his Coach and Six, almost imme- "diately afterwards, George the Second "quitted Kew the same Evening, for Lon- "don." I return to the Progress of public Affairs.

[November.] When we reflect on the Manner in which Fox had attained to Power; as well as on the long, though ineffectual Resistance made by the King; followed by his sullen Resignation under a Yoke which he found it impossible to elude, or throw off; —when we consider these Facts, it cannot excite Surprize, that Fox should meditate the Means of confirming and perpetuating his precarious Tenure of Office. He felt himself personally odious to the Sovereign, whom he had too deeply offended, easily to obtain Forgiveness. From that Quarter therefore, he well knew that he might be undermined or subverted; but, he could not hope to receive a cordial Support. Unfortunately, he had likewise recently lost in a very considerable Degree, the Confidence and Attach-

ment of the People. So long as the American War lasted, he retained, in Defiance of his private Irregularities, their ardent Affection. Of this Sentiment, they gave him many Proofs: particularly, after his Duel with Mr. Adam, when the Wound which he received, exciting Apprehensions for his Life, the Populace surrounded his Lodgings, with Testimonies of clamorous Anxiety, as well as of corresponding Resentment against his Ministerial and personal Opponents.

Since that Time, the Inhabitants of Westminster manifesting the same Partiality, had elected him one of their Representatives in Parliament; a Situation which enabled him not only to defend their Liberties in the House of Commons; but, conferred likewise the Means of convoking, haranguing, and propelling them in tumultuary Assemblies, convened for the express Purpose, in Westminster Hall. To a Man of Fox's Energy and Talents, this additional Facility of thus presiding in a Species of Mob, at the very Door of the two Houses of Parliament, as well as at a very inconsiderable Distance from the Royal Residence, doubled his Consequence; and might be said to render him

a Tribune of the People, in the most literal Sense of the Word, nearly as that Office was exercised in ancient Rome, previous to the Subversion of the Commonwealth. Nor had his Popularity suffered at all in the general Estimation, by his Acceptance of Office under Lord Rockingham; though the Fallacy and Delusion of many of his Promises or Assertions, had become sufficiently manifest, even during his short Stay in the Cabinet, under that Administration. On the Motives, and on the Propriety or Necessity, of his Resignation, after Lord Shelburne's Elevation to the Head of the Treasury, Mankind seemed indeed divided; some applauding it, as an Act of magnanimous public Virtue, Renunciation, and Self-Devotion; while others beheld in it only personal Rivality, Enmity, and Resentment.

But, relative to his Junction with his present Colleague Lord North, the Suffrages of the World, from the highest, down to the lowest Classes, united to reprobate it in a greater or in a less Degree. And I have always thought that Fox himself, in his Impatience to regain Office, miscalculated, or did not sufficiently appreciate, the Operation

on the public Mind, of his Conduct; in thus taking to his Bosom in March, 1783, the very Minister, on whose Head, in March, 1782, he had invoked the utmost Vengeance of an offended and ruined Nation. Some longer Interval of Time was required, to reconcile Men to such an apparent Dereliction of Principle, and so total a Sacrifice of Decorum, at the Shrine of Ambition. Here the Transmutation had been so rapid, as not only to shock the most ordinary Understanding; but, even to impress with secret Concern or Disgust, many of those who, nevertheless, affected to justify, and to support the Measure. Pope says,

"Lust, through some certain Strainers well refin'd,
"Is gentle Love, and charms all Female Kind."

But it must pass through those Refiners, and leave its Dross behind, or conceal it, before Love can charm, or challenge Respect. I have heard Colonel Macalister, late Governor of the Island of Penang in the East Indies, frequently assert, that there existed in the Town of that Colony, a Receptacle or Space of Ground, surrounded by Walls, into which was commonly thrown

every Species of corrupted and putrefied Substance. In a hot Climate, the Process from Dissolution to Revivification, we know, is very quick. Maggots in immense Numbers, of a prodigious Size, were speedily generated or produced from this Filth; which, the Chinese Inhabitants of the Settlement, who possessed no Means of regular Subsistence, and who therefore were not fastidious about their Diet, used to collect with Rakes, from off the Heaps of Carcases, and to devour immediately, after frying them in *Ghee*, or melted Butter. Colonel Macalister indeed added, that the Chinese who used such Aliments, became subject to cutaneous and leprous Diseases of the most inveterate Kind. We perceive however, that all animal and vegetable Substances perpetually change their Forms; and disgusting as this Recital may be, that Sentiment only arises from the Rapidity of the Metamorphosis. Precisely of the same Kind, in a political Sense, appeared the Coalition between Lord North and Fox; a Transformation, which being consummated in the Space of a few Hours, was then imposed upon the House of Commons and the Nation. But, the English, indignant at such a Compact,

which revolted their moral Feelings; rejected in general with Abhorrence, the Dish served up to them, and dismissed the State Cooks who had prepared it for the Country.

Well aware as Fox was therefore, that though he had a second Time forced his Way into high Employment, yet he neither enjoyed the Favor of the Crown, nor any longer possessed the Affection of the People in general; it was natural he should look to some other Quarter, for permanent Support. In the two Houses of Parliament, where he commanded a decided Majority, he beheld the Foundation on which he might construct a Citadel, unassailable, as he conceived, either by the Sovereign, or by the Nation. India, which presented the Materials for his Edifice, seemed to invite his Exertions to re-model that vast Empire, convulsed and half subverted by internal Discord or Corruption, added to external Hostilities. Burke, whose Friend or Relation of the same Name, William Burke, was already stationed in the East, as Agent with the Rajah of Tanjore; and who had, himself, taken a most active Part in all the Parliamentary Discussions arising out of the

Reports of the Secret and Select Committees, during the two preceding Sessions; aspired with equal Ardor, to second Fox in this great Undertaking. It had even been announced from the Throne, when the King terminated the Sitting of Parliament, in the preceding Month of July, that India would form the first Object of their Deliberations, on their again meeting for Business.

During the Course of the Autumn, Fox and Burke therefore, aided by the Law Officers of the Crown, drew up, and prepared the memorable *Bill*, which it was intended to introduce, as soon as the Session should commence in November. They communicated all the Heads and Outlines of it, to Lord North; with whom, indeed, as being in his Department, the Measure ought strictly to have originated: but, who was induced in this Instance, as in many other Cases, to allow the Energies of his Colleague; added to the superior Information possessed by Burke on the Subject, to supplant, and in some Measure to supersede him in his official Functions. The *Bill*, thus far organized, and having been generally approved in the Cabinet, was then submitted to the King,

for his private Perusal and Sanction; accompanied with becoming Expressions on their Part, of the Wish and Desire entertained by Ministers, to accommodate it to His Majesty's Ideas upon every Point, before it should be brought into Parliament. Unable of himself, by the Powers of his own Mind, without some Assistance, to form a competent Judgment upon its complicated Provisions, Operation, and general Results, it was understood and believed that the King had early thought proper to lay it confidentially before Lord Thurlow; desiring at the same Time to know his legal Opinion respecting its Nature. Common Rumour added, that the Opinion delivered by Lord Thurlow, represented it as calculated to render Ministers independent of the Crown; and as containing many Clauses injurious to, or nearly subversive of, the British Constitution itself: but, that His Majesty was advised to wait for its more complete Developement, before he expressed any Disapprobation, or attempted any Resistance. Such might be considered the general State and Aspect of Things in the first Days of November, when a curious Incident which unexpectedly took Place at St. James's, and which excited no little Spe-

culation, seemed to shew that the Ground on which the Ministry stood, was hollow and treacherous.

Sir Eyre Coote, who long commanded the Armies of the East India Company, on the Coast of Coromandel, with distinguished Reputation, and whose Name is immortalized in the modern History of Asia; after repulsing Hyder Ally, and rescuing the Carnatic, expired at Madras, worn out and extenuated by Disease, on the 26th of April, 1783; having survived his Antagonist Hyder, scarcely five Months. The Intelligence of his Decease, which was transmitted overland, reached Leadenhall Street, early in November. No sooner had it been communicated to Fox, than he immediately destined the Ribband of the Order of the *Bath*, which became vacant on Sir Eyre's Death, for one of his intimate Friends, Mr. Bielby Thompson. This Gentleman, who possessed a very fine Estate in Yorkshire, at Wetherby Grange, near the Town of that Name; sat at the Time in Parliament, as Member for Thirske in the County of York. Fox, after conferring on the Subject, with the Duke of Portland and Lord North, whom he ac-

quainted with his Intentions, repaired to St. James's; where having gone into the Closet, he announced to the King, the Event that had taken Place in India. He then mentioned Mr. Thompson, as the Person whom he wished, on the Part of Ministers, to recommend for the vacant Ribband; and His Majesty in Answer, seems to have expressed that Species of Acquiescence, more probably tacit, than couched in precise Words, which the Secretary at once interpreted, whether judiciously or not, to constitute full Compliance. Without waiting therefore, for any more explicit Declaration from the King on the Subject, as Prudence seemed to dictate, Fox informed Mr. Thompson, of his having received the royal Assent; and added, that the Investiture would take Place at the next Levee. Directions were accordingly issued to Norroy, King of Arms, and the proper Officers belonging to the Heralds' College, to attend at St. James's for the Purpose. The Circumstance being publickly known, Mr. Thompson was felicitated by Anticipation, on the Honour destined for him: but, the Sequel proved that Fox had either miscalculated or misunderstood, the whole Transaction.

On the Day fixed, His Majesty went to St. James's at the usual Hour, to prepare for the Levee. After he had finished dressing, he sent out the Groom of the Bed Chamber in waiting, as was his frequent Custom, to bring him Information relative to the Number of Persons who were arrived. The Gentleman returning, acquainted the King, that besides a great Crowd come to attend the Levee, the Officers of the *Bath* stood likewise without, ready for the Investiture. With some Surprize marked in his Countenance, the King asked, what Investiture he meant? To which Question he replied, not without Hesitation, that he understood it was intended to confer the Order of the *Bath* on Mr. Bielby Thompson, who was attending there in Person for that express Purpose. His Majesty made no Answer; and immediately afterwards, the Duke of Portland entering, went into the Closet. In the Course of his Audience, the King observed to him, that no *official* Account having been as yet received from India, of Sir Eyre Coote's Death; however authentic the Information of that Event, transmitted from Madras, might prove; and his Ribband, together with the other Insignia of the Order,

not having been hitherto delivered back to himself; he apprehended it would be informal to fill up the Vacancy, till those Points were previously ascertained and executed." The Duke, taken by Surprize, after attempting respectfully to bring His Majesty to another way of thinking, withdrew; and finding Mr. Fox in the next Room, communicated to him this most unexpected and mortifying Piece of Information.

The Secretary, equally astonished, as well as chagrined, instantly went in, when a long Conversation took Place between him and the Sovereign. In its Progress, Fox stated that having some Days preceding, laid the Business before His Majesty; and conceiving that he had obtained his royal Approbation and Consent to confer on Mr. Thompson the vacant Red Ribband, it had been so signified to that Gentleman; who, together with the proper Officers, were then waiting without, in Readiness for the Ceremony. He added, that in Point of Fact, no possible Doubt could be entertained of Sir Eyre Coote's Death; and that a Disappointment, after the Preparations and Publicity of the Affair, could not fail to be attended with very un-

pleasant Consequences to Administration, in the general Opinion. To all these Arguments and Expostulations, the King, after alledging his own Reasons, remained inflexible. Fox therefore quitting the Closet, returned to his Colleagues, various of whom, assembled in the outer Room, were waiting under considerable Anxiety, and imparted to them the unsuccessful Result of his Audience. No little Confusion ensued among them. Mr. Thompson, apprized of the mortifying Fact, returned Home. The Officers of the *Bath*, ordered to withdraw, were acquainted that the Ceremony expected, would not take Place on that Day. Every Person present, formed his own Comments or Conjectures, respecting the Scene which had just passed under his Eyes; and the old Courtiers did not fail to draw Inferences from it, highly adverse to the Duration of Ministers. It was obvious that the King, who felt no Disposition to oblige them, had got Possession of the Advantage Ground in the Contest; whereas Fox had acted with some Degree of Indiscretion, as well as Precipitation, in presuming upon an Assent, rather implied or assumed, than unequivocally expressed. Many Men considered the

whole Proceeding, as a Thing concerted, and the Result of deeper Causes than were apparent to common Observers. By exposing the Administration to Ridicule, as well as to Mortification, it unquestionably served to prepare the public Mind, for some approaching Convulsion or Alteration in the Government.

If the Business of Sir Eyre Coote's Ribband, was attended with these unpleasant Results to the Ministry, they received on the other Hand, just at this Time, a prodigious Accession of Strength and Consideration, from the avowed Junction of the Prince of Wales; who having attained his twenty-first Year in the preceding Month of August, had recently established his Court and Residence at Carlton House. Nature had bestowed uncommon Graces on his Figure and Person, nor were his Manners less highly distinguished than his Birth. Probably, James, Duke of Monmouth, Son of Charles the Second, did not excel him in all these bodily Accomplishments. Like the Princes of the House of Brunswick, he manifested an early Tendency to become corpulent; nor did he, like George the Third, repress that

Disposition by Abstinence or Renunciations. Convivial, as well as social in his Temper, destitute of all Reserve, and affable even to Familiarity in his Reception of every Person who had the Honour to approach him; he presented in these Respects, a Contrast to the shy, correct, and distant Manners of the King his Father. Endowed with all the Aptitudes to profit of Instruction, his Mind had been cultivated with great Care; and he was probably the only Prince in Europe, Heir to a powerful Monarchy, competent to peruse the Greek, as well as the Roman Poets and Historians, in their own Language. Capable of warm and steady Friendship, he possessed a Heart not less susceptible of Love, and alive to the Impressions, as well as to the Seduction, of female Charms. Humane and compassionate, his Purse was open to every Application of Distress; nor was it ever shut against Genius or Merit. Even if these Virtues were mingled with considerable Alloy, yet his Facility, his ardent Pursuit of Pleasure, and his Inattention to Economy, all might derive some Apology from his Youth, and the Elevation on which he stood; Circumstances that necessarily ex-

posed him to great, as well as corresponding Temptations of every Kind.'

Nor ought we, if we candidly examine the Subject, to feel either Surprize, or any Degree of moral Disapprobation, at the Predilection and Preference which he had imbibed, and which he openly manifested for an Administration, odious to his Father. When he looked back on the twenty-three Years of George the Third's Reign, he beheld little Matter of Admiration, though ample Reason for Regret. At the Peace of 1763, Lord Bute had sacrificed or restored to France and Spain, almost all the Acquisitions of Pitt. Wilkes and "Junius," aided by Churchill, had covered with Opprobrium, or overwhelmed with Ridicule, almost all the Ministers employed between the Treaty of Fontainbleau, and the Commencement of the American War; nor had the Sovereign himself escaped their severe Animadversions on his personal Conduct and Government. In the Gulf of the American Contest, the Treasures of England had been expended, her Navy disgraced, her Commerce nearly destroyed, her public Burthens accumulated,

her national Debt immensely augmented, her Armies defeated or made Prisoners, and we had finally lost a vast Empire beyond the Atlantic. Precisely as this calamitous Consummation took Place, the Prince of Wales, emerging from the Restraint under which he had been hitherto held, made his Appearance on the Theatre of public Life, and emancipated himself from parental Superintendence or Controul. It was not merely natural, but, almost unavoidable, that he should view those Events through the Optics and Representations of Fox and Burke, rather than through any other Medium. Neither George the Second, nor Frederick his Son, could plead the same Apology, or exhibit such valid Causes to justify enlisting, as they respectively did, under the Party adverse to the Measures of the Crown. Fox and his Friends, who well knew how to improve these favourable Circumstances, contrived to effect a deep, as well as a permanent Impression on the Affections, no less than on the Understanding, of the Heir apparent.

[11th November.] The Session now commenced;—a Session rendered conspicuous beyond any other of the long Reign of George

the Third, by the Magnitude, Singularity, and Importance of its Events; unless we should except from this Remark, the Parliament that met in November, 1788, on the King's memorable Malady. A Species of ostensible Unanimity, like the Calm that sometimes precedes the Storm, characterized its Opening; Mr. Pitt concurring warmly in the Address to the Throne moved by Administration, for approving the definitive Treaties signed with France, Spain, and America: though he did not fail to remark with indignant Asperity, on the Inconsistence of thanking the Crown for merely consummating the very Work, of which he and his Colleagues had laid all the Foundations; in Consequence of conferring which national Benefit, they had been driven from Office. "Yet," concluded he, "if the Measures "which Ministers mean to propose, should "meet my Ideas, and appear to me salutary "in their Nature, I will not endeavour to "defeat them by an ignoble Opposition; "but, I will on the contrary give them my "best Support." Fox, with much Ingenuity, endeavoured to demonstrate to the House, that the definitive Treaties, far from being servile Transcripts of the Prelimina-

ries, were on the contrary, materially altered in Favour of this Country. And with a View to prove his Assertion, he particularized three Articles, on each of which, as he asserted, important Ameliorations had taken Place. These were, first, relative to the Condition of the British Inhabitants of the Island of Tobago; secondly, an accurate Definition of the geographical Limits, within which the Gum Trade on the Coast of Africa might in future be carried on; and lastly, the precise Boundaries affixed to the Possessions of our Allies in the East Indies. I own however, that the aggregate Merit of these Concessions, or rather Alterations, did not appear to me entitled to much Encomium. They seemed to be rather Inaccuracies or Inadvertencies, than Defects; and were such Blemishes, as every Administration must equally have perceived and remedied, after the Lapse of a few Months.

Pitt made little Answer to the Secretary of State's Speech, in the Progress of which, he had announced his Intention of bringing forward almost immediately, his Plan for the new Government of India. But, Governor Johnstone, with the Warmth, not to say Vio-

lence, which characterized every Sentiment that usually fell from his Lips; claimed for Mr. Hastings, all the Merit of expelling Tippoo Sultan from the Carnatic, as well as of effecting a Peace with the Mharatta Empire:—Services, which, if they were justly due to the Ability or Wisdom of the Governor General, as Johnstone asserted, might have challenged higher Testimonies of national or parliamentary Approbation, than Fox's boasted Improvements contained in the definitive Treaty made with France. Johnstone concluded by warning the Ministers, not to enforce any Plans for the Administration of India, without previously consulting the Persons, who, from local Knowledge and Experience, knew the Remedies most applicable to the Disorders of those remote and valuable Possessions. The Treasury Bench observed a profound Silence, and the House soon afterwards broke up; all Men looking forward with Anxiety to the great Measure now announced from ministerial Authority, and of which the leading Features were already known by common Report, to be of the most vigorous, as well as affirmative Nature. The celebrated East India Bill followed, after the Interval of a

few Days. It was natural to suppose that Lord North, within whose Department lay all Regulation of our Concerns in that Quarter of the Globe, would of Course open the Measure officially to the House. But, instead of so doing, he absented himself on Account of Indisposition, leaving Fox to perform the Task;—a Line of Conduct, which, whether it arose from real Necessity, or whether it was preconcerted, operated very disadvantageously on the Minds of many Individuals attached to Lord North, who had hitherto supported the *Coalition*. They beheld themselves in Fact, completely abandoned by their ancient Leader; who seemed to have delivered up himself, his Followers, his Sovereign, and his political Principles, to the uncontrouled Dominion of his new Associates, Fox and Burke.

[18th November.] I scarcely ever remember, during the Time that I sate in Parliament, a Day on which public Expectation was wound up to a higher Pitch, than when Fox opened his Bill. He did it in the most able and masterly Manner; detailing with Perspicuity, in Language equally lucid and persuasive, the accumulated Embarrass-

ments, Abuses, and Mal-Administration, which had necessitated the Adoption of a Measure of Vigor, for the Extrication of the East India Company. Having stated the Grievances, among which he did not omit Hastings's ambitious, profuse, and oppressive Policy, as the leading Source of the Calamities under which India laboured; and having declared that nothing except a total Change of the ancient System, could effect any real Benefit, he proceeded to unfold his gigantic Plan. "My Intention is," said he, "to propose the Formation of a Board, consisting of seven Individuals, invested with "Power to appoint, as well as to displace, all "Officers throughout Indostan; and under "whose Authority, the whole Government "or Administration of our extensive Possessions in the East, shall be placed. My next "Proposition will be for the Establishment "of an assistant or subordinate Board, to be "composed of eight Persons; to whose Superintendence shall be submitted all the "commercial Concerns of the East India "Company. But, the latter Board is designed to be subject to the absolute Controul of the seven first named Commissioners; who, as well as the others, are to

"hold their Sittings here in England." "I "mean that Parliament shall in the present "Instance, name all the Commissioners; and "I intend their Duration to be for the Term "of three, or of five Years, which Time will "enable us to form an Estimate of the Effi- "cacy and Utility of the Institution. If Ex- "perience shall prove it to be beneficial, I "would then give to the King, the Power "of filling up all future Vacancies among "the superior Commissioners. To the Court "of Proprietors would be left the Right of "Nomination at the inferior Board."

When he had thus developed the Outlines of his proposed *Bill*, and endeavoured to demonstrate its salutary Operation, if adopted; at the same Time anticipating and replying to such Objections as, he conceived, might be made to it; he proceeded. "The Situation of "the Country," observed he, "demands of "a Minister, not only vigorous Measures, "but, even a Degree of Risk, and Supe- "riority to personal Considerations of Dan- "ger. This is not a Moment, in which a "Secretary of State can remain idle. Those "who prefer Indulgence before Application, "may retire to private Life. My Office calls "for Exertion." Then reverting to his Coa-

lition with Lord North, he assured the House, that no material Difference of Opinion had arisen between him and his noble Colleague, during the past Summer. The Experiment of a mutual Oblivion of past Animosities, and a cordial Co-Operation for the Benefit of their Country, had fully succeeded. "On the present Occasion I la-"ment, indeed," added he, "that Illness "and Infirmity should deprive me of the "great Abilities possessed by that noble "Person; but I am authorized to declare, "that we perfectly coincide in Sentiment re-"specting the Subject now before Parlia-"ment; and as the Bill must demand a cer-"tain Time for its Discussion, I trust I may "still promise myself the Benefit of his "powerful Support." As the strongest Proof of Lord North's Acquiescence in, and Approbation of the Measure, Colonel North, his eldest Son, seconded Fox's Motion.

All Eyes were then directed towards Pitt, who instantly rising, sarcastically remarked, that although Lord North was indisposed, yet he did not conceive, any material Impediment to public Affairs would result from it; as the Secretary of State had demonstrated how competent he was to perform, not only

his own Share of Parliamentary Business, but, the Duties of his Colleague likewise. Relative to the Bill now brought forward, he should suspend his Judgment till it came fully before the House; adding, "Enormous Abuses have been, no doubt, committed in the Management of East India Affairs. And enormous must they be, if they can justify a Measure, which at once abrogates all the ancient Charters or Privileges granted to the Company since its first Existence." "Is it not the avowed Principle of the Bill just announced, to place the whole Power over our East India Dominions, in the Hands of seven Individuals, who will derive their immediate Appointment from the Minister himself? In that Minister will center therefore prospectively, the immense Patronage of those rich and extensive Provinces. I am ready, as far as regards my own Opinion, thus early to declare, that the whole System of the Secretary of State appears to be absolute Despotism on one Side; and on the other, the most gross Corruption." These severe Animadversions, however just they might be in themselves, could not however arrest the Progress of the Measure, which

proceeded with unexampled Rapidity, thro' the lower House of Parliament.

It is no longer possible, after the Lapse of above thirty Years, to deceive either ourselves or Mankind, relative to the Nature, Provisions, and Effects of the *Bill* in Question. Its most determined Enemies cannot dispute the Energy, Vigor, and Decision, which breathed through every Clause; nor will candid Men refuse to allow the beneficial Tendency of many of its Regulations. But, neither can the Friends of Fox, however they may idolize his Memory, deny the unwarrantable Spirit of Ambition, Rapacity, and Confiscation, by which it was equally distinguished in its leading Features. The instant Seizure of all the Effects, Papers, and Possessions of a great chartered Company; the total Extinction of the Court of Directors, who had so long conducted its Affairs; and the Substitution of two new Boards, named by the Ministry, through the Medium of Parliament, for the future Government of India;—these Measures, however their Necessity might apparently be demonstrated, seemed rather revolutionary Subversions of Property by arbitrary Au-

thority, than suited to the mild, moderate, and equitable Spirit of the British Constitution. Other Features of the *Bill*, appeared still more open to Objection, since they evidently vested in Administration, and therefore in Fox, as the Ministerial Leader, a Power independent of the Sovereign. Such, in particular, might be esteemed the Clause, which ultimately extended the Duration of the Act, to *four* Years; a Term exceeding the possible Period to which the Existence of the House of Commons then sitting, could be protracted, they having already entered on their fourth Session.

Many other Regulations, growing out of the *Bill*, or connected with the Measure, excited just Alarm. Even in the subsequent Selection of the Seven Commissioners, who were to be appointed for the future Administration of the East India Company's Affairs at Home and Abroad, Fox's Ascendant over his Colleague was clearly defined: Lord Fitzwilliam, as the personal Representative of the deceased Marquis of Rockingham, being placed at the Head of the Board; while Mr. Frederick Montagu, another most respectable Adherent of the same political

Party, stood second in the List. Colonel North, Viscount Lewisham, and Sir Gilbert Eliott, the three next Commissioners, represented Lord North's Interest and Connexions. No Division was attempted on any of these Names, but I well remember the general Laughter excited through the Opposition Ranks, when Colonel North was proposed. Indeed, Fox was so well aware of the Sneers or Comments to which that Nomination would give Rise, that he anticipated them in his Speech on the Occasion. But, in order to secure at once the Majority of Voices, together with the efficient Controul of the Board itself; Sir Henry Fletcher, one of the Representatives for the County of Cumberland, who in the Year preceding had been raised to the Dignity of a Baronet, by the Marquis of Rockingham; and Mr. Robert Gregory, Member for Rochester, were added to the Number. Both these last named Gentlemen, well known for their devoted Attachment to Fox, and possessing Seats in the House of Commons; having likewise in their own Persons, recently and repeatedly filled the highest Situations in the East India Direction; it was obvious, must be resorted to as Guides, on Account

of their local Knowledge and Experience in the Company's Concerns. No Measures, it must be owned, could have been more ably concerted, for bringing under Ministerial Influence, and for permanently retaining under their Subjection, the immense Patronage, and all the Sources of Power, or of Emolument, connected with India: while, on the other Hand, it was well understood, that the first Employments, civil and military, from the Post of Governor General of Bengal, or Commander in Chief at Calcutta, down to the Seats in Council at Madras and at Bombay, were already promised or filled up, principally with Members of Parliament, distinguished for their Adherence to Administration. The Names of the Individuals destined for these high Situations, became circulated in every Company; and as many of them were better known among the Club at Brookes's, than in Leadenhall Street; the Consciousness of all India being speedily subjected to their rapacious Hands, by no means tended to reconcile or to tranquillize the public Mind.

[20th November.] Happily for the British Constitution, the Activity and Energy of

Opposition, seemed to keep Pace with the bold Policy and Ambition of the Secretary. Mr. William Grenville, then Member for the Town of Buckingham, and youngest of three Brothers who have all filled with Distinction some of the highest Employments of State, under the Reign of George the Third; came eminently forward on the present momentous Occasion. In a Speech of great Length, and greater Ability, he gave Promise of those vigorous Powers of Mind, which he has since unfolded in the upper House of Parliament, both in, and out of Office. He wanted, indeed, the commanding Tone, the Majesty, and all the captivating Rotundity, as well as Splendor of Pitt's Eloquence; but, in Solidity of Argument, in Depth of Thought, and the Qualities that constitute a Statesman, he might be thought to equal his distinguished Relation. Having pointed out in the most convincing Terms, the Rapacity, Despotism, and personal Aggrandizement, which lay concealed behind the ostensible Regulations of Reform, in Fox's Bill;—having endeavoured to unmask the Attempt made to hoodwink and deceive the House, by nominating Commissioners who would look only

to the Minister, and not to the Sovereign, for the Duration of their Power;—he demanded, "by whom has a Plan so pregnant "with Ruin to the Constitution, been origi- "nated and matured?—By the very Man, "whose Voice has during many Years been "loudest in declaring, that the Influence "of the Crown is excessive, and big with "Danger to the Liberties of the Country." In Language more measured, and destitute of classic Ornament, but, not less calculated by its very Brevity to impress his Audience, Jenkinson stated the Measure projected, "as setting up within the Realm, a Species "of executive Authority, which would be "independent of all Controul on the Part of "the Sovereign." Nor did he fail to expose and to denounce the audacious Spirit of Legislation, which could propose a Plan so subversive of every Principle on which rest the Liberties of England. Two Individuals who have risen in our Time to the highest Honors and Dignities of the Bar, Scott and Erskine, both, I believe, first presented themselves on that Evening, to the Notice of the House; but, on opposite Sides: the former attacking, the latter defending, Fox's Bill. Scarcely any Impression of the

Speech pronounced by Scott, remains on my Mind or Memory, except a general Idea of the Calmness and Candour which characterized it. One only Sentiment has survived in my Recollection, when he strikingly observed, that, "though Ministers, by the "Words which they had put into His Ma- "jesty's Mouth, at the Opening of the Ses- "sion, had called upon Parliament to *deli-* "*berate;* yet it was now obvious, that in- "stead of *consulting* on the Affairs of India, "the Secretary of State had only convoked "them for the Purpose of *Decision.*"

Fox, in his Reply, while he treated Scott with great Marks of Consideration, and even of Respect for his Talents, as well as for the temperate Mode in which he had delivered his Opinions; exhausted on Jenkinson the severest Epithets of Reproach. "I well "anticipated," exclaimed he, "long before "they were uttered, the Observations which "would proceed from that Quarter. When "I first heard the Doctrine broached, of "*separating the Crown from its Ministers,* "*and treating them as divided Interests,* I "instantly foresaw who would take the "Lead on the present Evening. Such Doc-

" trines could originate from no other Indi-
" vidual. When the Measures of Govern-
" ment call for Censure or Punishment, then,
" indeed, I admit, Ministers are solely res-
" ponsible: but, in almost every other Point
" of View, nothing can be more invidious
" or false, than to make such a Distinction."
Pitt, notwithstanding, who doubtless already knew the Ground, pressed the Secretary of State upon this tender Subject, with redoubled Force. Having remarked on the Inconsistency and Contradiction of Fox's Assertions respecting the Unity of the Sovereign and his Ministers, " We hope indeed," added he, " that they do materially differ. When-
" ever Administration passes the Limits
" of Justice and of Moderation, we trust
" that we shall always be able clearly *to*
" *distinguish the Minister from the Sovereign.*
" The Secretary has exerted much Ingenuity
" in attempting to conciliate and blend two
" Powers, which are in themselves distinct.
" I can however discover no Reason for his
" introducing the present Bill at so early a
" Period of the Session, and pressing it for-
" ward through the House, without allowing
" it a full Discussion, except the Design of
" settling *Ministers* in the Enjoyment of un-

" limited and absolute Power." It was evident by these Expressions, how imprudently Fox had acted in bringing forward a Measure, which, besides its rapacious Features, and its arbitrary Spirit, enabled his Opponents to accuse him, not without good Reason, of labouring to build up his own Greatness, and to cement his own Power, at the Expence of the Prince whom he served. He thus opened with his own Hands, the political Abyss, in which he was eventually swallowed up. So blind is Ambition, unless regulated and restrained by Judgment, as well as Moderation! Irritated at the Motives imputed by Pitt and his Friends, to Administration, in framing the East India Bill, Burke rose towards the Close of the Debate, rather to indulge his Spleen, and to vent his Anger, than to apply to Pitt's Arguments, the Touch-stone of Reason. " Those Arguments," he said, " came, not " from the Head, but, from the Heart; and " therefore neither merited, nor were capable " of receiving any Answer. The Ministerial " Opponents knew their own base Motives, " for which Reason they attributed to others, " the Feelings by which they were themselves, animated." No Division however, as

yet took Place, and the Bill proceeded forward with unexampled Rapidity; while every other Topic of Conversation throughout the Metropolis, and I might almost say, throughout the Kingdom, was suspended in the Contemplation of this new, as well as comprehensive Measure.

[27th November.] Both Sides meanwhile, prepared for the greatest Exertions, and it was evident that Ministers, secure of a decided Majority in each House of Parliament, dreaded nothing except Delay. But, the Heads of Opposition had already found effectual Means to inform the Sovereign of his Danger, and to rouse him to Resistance, though its Effects were not immediately perceptible. Fox, confident in the Superiority of his Numbers, which Circumstance he thought he had well ascertained, and instructed by all past Experience since the Period of the Revolution in 1688, that no British Sovereign could venture to oppose himself personally against the Representatives of the People, sustained by the Peers; only calculated the Time which his *Bill* would demand in its Passage. He did not sufficiently reflect, that he had lost in great

Measure the popular Support, without having acquired the Favor of the Crown. Nor did he seem to have justly appreciated the general Disapprobation, or rather Detestation, which the East India Bill eventually excited through all Ranks of Society. On these powerful Auxiliaries, though hitherto not fully matured, Pitt confidently counted. Never, on any Occasion, did Fox display the vast Capacities of Memory, lucid Arrangement of Ideas, and Facilities of clothing his Matter in Language of Energy and Effect, with which Nature had endowed him, more fully than on the second reading of his *Bill!* Having endeavoured by a Series of Arithmetical Reasonings, founded, as he asserted, on the Accounts presented by the East India Company at the Bar of the House, with the View of shewing their Solvency; to prove that they were on the contrary, in a State of Distress approaching to Bankruptcy; Fox added, "I well know "that in bringing forward the present Mea- "sure, I expose my own ministerial Situa- "tion to Hazard. But, when, on great "national Grounds, I can establish a Sys- "tem, at once salutary, as well as useful, to "his Country and to India, I value little

"the personal Risks that I may encounter. "If I fall, I shall fall in a great and glorious "Struggle, not only for the Welfare of the "Company, but, for the Benefit of the Peo-"ple of Britain, and of Indostan."

Lord North, who had hitherto been absent from the House ever since the Commencement of the Session, attended in his Place on that Evening, seated by Fox's Side. He even spoke at considerable Length, in Support of the Bill; but, as I thought, without his usual Animation, and Powers of Persuasion or Entertainment. Not a Scintillation of that Wit, which so often electrified or delighted his Hearers, pervaded his Speech; and, though it displayed great Ability, the Understanding, rather than Conviction or Inclination, seemed to dictate all he uttered. Pitt, on the other Hand, fastened like a Vulture, on the Secretary's Measure, which he held up to the Abhorrence of all Mankind, as "the "most desperate and alarming Attempt to "exercise Tyranny, which ever disgraced the "Annals of this, or of any other Country." "Is the pretended Relief," exclaimed he, "which we are to administer in Asia, to be "grounded on Injustice and Violence in

" Europe?—I pledge myself to the World " at large, to point out the fatal Operation " of this *Bill* on every Thing sacred or dear " to Englishmen; to prove its inimical In- " fluence on our Constitution and Liberties; " and to establish by incontrovertible Evi- " dence, the false and pernicious Principles " on which it is founded. But, all these Par- " ticulars necessarily demand Time, which " the indecent, as well as unprecedented " Precipitancy of the Business, virtually " proscribes."—" The Secretary has passed in " Review, the Statements made by the Com- " pany, and the Accounts presented at the " Bar, with a Rapidity which renders Com- " prehension difficult, and Detection almost " impossible. For this, as well as for many " other Reasons, I trust there can be no " Objection to defer the Debate for a single " Day, in order that the Falsehood of the " Assertions made, may be rendered mani- " fest to every Comprehension." Vainly however were any Reclamations addressed to Ministers who dreaded above all Things, the Operation of Delay; and who, after having taken the Cabinet by Storm, were now impatient to secure their Possession of Power, beyond the Reach of Accident or

Fortune. Fox refusing to postpone the Discussion even for a few Hours, the Division took Place; which, as being the first Trial of Strength on the *East India Bill*, excited no little Expectation. It proved a Triumph to the *Coalition*, and seemed to set at Defiance all further Opposition within the Walls of that House of Parliament; Administration carrying with them 229 Votes, while the Minority did not exceed 120. Under these prosperous, but, fallacious Appearances, terminated the Month of November.

December.] Fox himself gave indeed the strongest Indication of his own Apprehensions, from the Interposition of Delay, by the Haste, not to say the Precipitation, with which he propelled the Bill through the House of Commons. Notwithstanding the Opposition given to it in every Stage, by Mr. Pitt and his Friends; in Defiance of Petitions presented from the Proprietors, as well as from the Directors, of the East India Company; and equally contrary to the general Sentiment of the Capital, no less than to the almost unanimous Voice of the Nation, which soon began to manifest itself; he

pushed forward the Measure with indecent Ardor. Scarcely three Weeks elapsed, from the Time of his moving for Leave to bring in the Bill, on the 18th of November, to his Appearance at the Bar of the House of Peers, on the 9th of December; when he presented it in Person, "*magna comitante* "*Caterva*," after its having passed the House of Commons. An ordinary Turnpike, Canal, or Enclosure Bill, if opposed in its Principles or Progress, might have taken longer Time, than did this gigantic Experiment to render Administration in some Measure independent of the Crown, and of the People. Yet, so well had the Secretary meditated his Plan, such was the Parliamentary Strength possessed by the *Coalition*, and such the Ascendancy of Fox over the Lower House, that upon every Division, he carried the Question by a vast Superiority of Numbers, generally exceeding the Proportion of two to one. On the Question of going into the Committee, which took Place on the first of December, I quitted Lord North, whom I had commonly supported up to that Time, and joined the Minority: conceiving it to be, upon every View of the

Subject, improper longer to adhere to a Minister, who seemed to have forsaken himself.

The Consternation which Fox's *Bill* occasioned in Leadenhall Street, among that Description of Men against whom its Provisions were known to be peculiarly levelled, was commonly, though erroneously, said to have proved fatal to Sir William James, who died very suddenly, just at this Time. It is however true that he was seized with an Indisposition, while sitting in the House of Commons, during the Progress of the "East "India Bill," which compelled him instantly to return Home; but he recovered in a certain Degree the Attack, though he never afterwards quitted his own House. His Death took Place instantaneously, during the Performance of the Ceremony of his only Daughter's Marriage with the late Lord Rancliff, then Mr. Boothby Parkyns. I knew Sir William James with great Intimacy, and discussed with him, the probable Results of the East India Measure, during the short Interval which elapsed between his first Seizure, and the Day of his Decease, at his Residence in Gerrard Street, Soho.

His Origin was so obscure, as almost to baffle Enquiry, and he had derived no Advantage from Education; but he possessed strong natural Abilities, aided by a Knowledge of Mankind. Having been sent out early in Life, to Bombay, in the East India Company's naval Service, he there distinguished himself, by commanding the memorable Expedition undertaken against Angria the Pirate; when we made ourselves Masters of Fort Geriah, his principal Establishment on the Coast of the Concan. Returning to his native Country after this successful Enterprize, by which he acquired not only some Fortune, but, considerable Reputation; he rose to the first Employments at the India House, as a Member of the Court of Directors; sat in successive Parliaments; was elevated by the Friendship of the late Earl of Sandwich, when First Lord of the Admiralty, to the Baronetage; and had been elected Deputy Master of the Trinity House, in the preceding Month of June, when Lord Keppel was chosen Master of that Corporation. Those Persons who asserted that Fox's *Bill* killed him, seem to have forgotten that he had nearly attained his Seventieth Year, when he expired. As his Dissolution took Place,

on the 16th of December, he had not the Satisfaction to witness the Rejection of that obnoxious Measure, by the House of Peers, which happened on the following Day.

Never, probably, was so great a Portion of Intellect brought to bear upon one Point or Subject, in so short a Space of Time, as the House of Commons exhibited between the Opening of the East India Bill, and its triumphant Arrival in the Upper House of Parliament. All the Sources of Argument, Declamation, Wit, and Pathos, were successively touched by Master Hands. Every Species of Information enlightened the Object under Discussion; nor was any Weapon of Sophistry, Humour, or even severe Invective, left untried, which might operate on the Understanding, Passions, and Feelings of the Audience. The salient Points of Debate were so many, so striking, and so animated, as to defy the Powers of Memory; leaving on the Hearer's Mind, only a confused Recollection of their Beauty, Delicacy, or Severity. History, antient and modern, Poetry, even Scripture, all were successively pressed into the Service, or rendered subservient to the Purposes of the contending

Parties. Will it be believed that the "Apocalypse" of St. John furnished Images, which, by a slight Effort of Imagination, or by an immaterial Deviation from the original Text, were made to typify Fox, under the Form of the "Beast that rose up out of the Sea, "having *seven* Heads?" Their Application to the *seven* Commissioners appointed by the Bill, was at once so happy, and so natural, that it could not be mistaken, and stood in need of no Explanation. The Words which were made to designate the Secretary of State himself, seemed almost to identify him by a very characteristic Feature, his *bold Eloquence*. "And there was given to him "*a Mouth speaking great Things*." But, in the Duration of the Power of *the Beast*, as compared with that of the *East India Bill*, a Difference of *six Months* appeared: the "Apocalypse" stating that "Power was "given unto him to continue *forty and two* "*Months*;" whereas Fox's Bill comprehended *forty-eight Months*, or four Years. Pensions, Peerages, and Places, were pointed out by the Passage where it is said, "And "he causeth All, both small and great, rich "and poor, to receive a Mark in *their right* "*Hand*, or in their Forehead."

Mr. Scott, who now as Lord Eldon, holds the Great Seal, was the Person by whom so curious an Allusion was presented to the House; as I think, on the third Reading of the *Bill*. But, Sheridan, though he could not possibly anticipate an Attack of such a Nature, yet having contrived in the Course of the Debate, to procure some Leaves of "the Book of Revelations," with admirable Ability found Materials in that Work, equally suited to Fox's Defence or Justification; transforming him from "the Dragon and the "Beast," under both which Types he had been designated, to a Species of angelic or tutelary Being, by producing other Quotations taken from St. John, full as applicable in their Tenor to the Secretary of State.

[1st December.] The Powers of Mind exerted throughout the Progress of the Measure, seemed to be concentrated in the memorable Debate that took Place upon sending the *Bill* to a Committee, which was opened by Powis. His beautiful and severe Animadversion on its double Author; a Metaphor drawn likewise from Holy Writ; made a strong Impression. "I hear indeed;"

said he, "the Voice of Jacob," meaning Fox; "but the Hands are those of Esau." Lord North, who was present at the Time, though much indisposed, quitted the House in the Course of the Evening, overcome with the immoderate Heat. Powis, who did not hesitate to denominate the *Bill*, "the Mo-"dern Babel, which already almost reached "the Clouds;" and who compared Fox's Treatment of the East India Company, with "Shylock's Demand of a Pound of Flesh, to "be cut nearest the Heart:" expressed nevertheless his personal Respect for the Secretary; but added, that, he "wished to "see him the Servant, not the Master, of his "Sovereign." No Speech pronounced within the Walls of the House of Commons, throughout the whole Proceedings during the great Experiment made by Ministers to consolidate their Tenure of Office, tended more to accelerate their Downfal, than did this of Powis. He was neither a Candidate for Place, nor a Courtier, whose Eyes were directed to St. James's; nor a Lawyer, looking to the Dignities and Preferments of Westminster Hall. As a Country Gentleman, representing an extensive County, he delivered with manly Firmness, his Opi-

nions; which were founded in common Sense, couched in Language of great Force, rising at Times to a Pitch of affecting Eloquence, and sustained by unimpeached Probity. During the American War, he had served with Zeal and Ability under Fox, in the Front Ranks; had conduced by his active Exertions, to diminish the Influence of the Crown, and had greatly contributed to drive Lord North from the Helm. But, he now beheld the Structure which he had lent all his Efforts to overturn, raised anew on more solid Foundations; while "the Man of the "People, was converted into the Champion "of Influence."—"If," said Powis, "the "Secretary of State's Moderation did not "form a Guarantee against his Ambition, "we might imagine him, when communing "with himself, thus to express his Intentions; 'I have, it is true, forced myself into "high Employment, by joining a Man and "a Party, whom, after successive Years of "Parliamentary Opposition, I had expelled "from Power. But, by my Junction with "the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, I "have lost much of my Popularity. Still, "as I have great Influence throughout the "Country, sustained by powerful Connex-

"ions, I will make good Use of my Time. "The Indies shall constitute the Basis of "my Greatness. Availing myself of my "present Prosperity, I will construct a gol- "den Fortress in this new Land of Promise; "which, by placing in it a select Garrison "of chosen and determined Adherents, on "whose Zeal and Attachment I may impli- "citly rely, I can render impregnable. A "Fortress which will not open its Gates, "either to the Summons of the People, or "to the Commands of the Sovereign.'—"For "God's Sake, let us unite to crush this aw- "ful Pile, before it swells to such a Size, as "to leave no Room for the other component "Parts of the British Constitution! Al- "ready scarce a Vestige of the East India "Company is to be traced; and if the present "*Bill* passes, we shall consign the Glory, "the Dignity, and the Liberties of our "Country, to ultimate, as well as certain "Destruction."

Burke, unable longer to observe Silence after such Reflexions, then rose; and in a Dissertation, rather than a Speech, which lasted more than three Hours, exhausted all the Powers of his mighty Mind, in the Jus-

tification of his Friend's Measure. The most ignorant Member of the House, who had attended to the Mass of Information, Historical, Political, and Financial, which fell from the Lips of Burke on that Occasion, must have departed, rich in Knowledge of Indostan. It seemed impossible to crowd greater Variety of Matter applicable to the Subject, into a smaller Compass; and those who differed most widely from him in Opinion, did not render the less Justice to his gigantic Range of Ideas, his lucid Exposition of Events, and the harmonic Flow of his Periods. There were Portions of this Harangue, in which he appeared to be animated by Feelings and Considerations the most benign, as well as elevated; and the Classic Language in which he made Fox's Panegyric, for having dared to venture on a Measure so beset with Dangers, but, so pregnant, as he asserted, with Benefits to Mankind, could not be exceeded in Beauty.

Indeed, if I were compelled to name the finest Composition pronounced in the House of Commons, during the whole Time that I remained a Member of that Assembly, from 1780 to 1794, I should select this Speech of

Burke. Nor can I be suspected of Partiality either towards the Author, or the Production. The former, though he excited Admiration by his Genius, was too much the Slave of his own Prejudices, too implacable, petulant, irascible, and impervious to Reason on many Subjects, to awaken general good Will, or to conciliate Affection. To the whole System which his Arguments were meant to support, I was decidedly hostile. Yet I did not on these Accounts, render less Justice to the matchless Powers of Intellect which matured so wonderful an Effusion. Far from suffering by a Comparison with the Orations of the greatest antient Masters, Greek or Roman, I believe it would gain on an impartial Examination. Among the Passages of peculiar Beauty, might be named his Picture of the young Men sent out from England to India, in Order to amass sudden Wealth. "Animated," said he, "with all the Avarice of "Age, and all the impetuous Ardour of "Youth, they roll in, one after another, "Wave after Wave; while Nothing presents "itself to the View of the unhappy Natives, "except an interminable Prospect of new "Flights of voracious Birds of Passage, with

"Appetites insatiable for a Food, which is "continually wasting under their Attacks.— "Every other Conqueror, Arab, Tartar, or "Persian, has left behind him some Monu- "ment, either of royal Splendor, or of useful "Beneficence. England has erected neither "Churches, nor Hospitals, nor Schools, nor "Palaces. If To-morrow we were expelled "from Indostan, Nothing would remain to "indicate that it had been possessed, during "the inglorious Period of our Dominion, by "any better Tenants than the Ouran-Outang "or the Tiger." This fine Burst of Imagination, even though we should conceive it to be too highly coloured, yet presents one of the most vivid Assemblages of animated Life, ever submitted to the human Understanding, while it appeals to the best Feelings of our Nature.

His Eulogium of Mr. Francis, (now Sir Philip,) whether we acquiesce in its exact Accuracy of Resemblance, or not, cannot be perused without Admiration. Yet was it exceeded by his Portrait of Fox, whom Burke compared with the Lawgivers of Antiquity, while legislating for Asia, and despising every personal Consideration, in Or-

der to diffuse Felicity over distant Portions of the Earth. "He is well aware," added Burke, "of the Snares which are spread in "his Path, from personal Animosity, from "*Court Intrigues*, and possibly, from popu- "lar Delusion. But, he has hazarded his "Ease, his Security, his Power, and his "Popularity, in the present noble Attempt. "This is the Road which all Heroes have "trod before him. He will recollect that "Obloquy constitutes a necessary Ingre- "dient in the Composition of Glory. He "will recollect, that it was not only in the "Roman Customs, but, is in the Nature and "Constitution of Things, for Calumny to ac- "company Triumph." However classic might be these Allusions, and whatever Magic might pervade the whole of Burke's Discourse; or however persuaded he was of the Reality of all the predicted Advantages, that would flow from the Measure; the moral Effect of his Speech in producing Conviction, by no means corresponded with the Admiration which it excited. Fox, who reserved himself on that Night to answer Dundas and Pitt, rose at a late Hour, and spoke with his usual Ability. "A Charter," observed he, "is only a Trust for some

"given Benefit. If abused, it may, and "ought to be resumed. Sovereigns are "sacred; yet, with all my Reverence and "Attachment towards them, had I lived "under the Reign of James the Second, I "should certainly have contributed my Ef- "forts in those illustrious Struggles, which "rescued Us from hereditary Servitude, and "recorded the Doctrine that *Trust abused, "is revocable.*" On Mr. Thomas Pitt, who, when alluding to the *East India Bill*, had asserted that "it was a Measure which "might be naturally expected from a Coali- "tion of two Men, who having first seized "by Force on the Government, evidently "intended to finish their Career by dealing "a Death-blow to their Country," the Secretary animadverted in Terms of more than ordinary Asperity. "I will tell that Honor- "able Gentleman," said Fox, looking him steadily in the Face, "that the Men who "have brought forward this Bill, are not "to be brow-beaten by studied Gesture; "nor terrified by tremulous Tones, solemn "Phrases, or hard Epithets. To Arguments, "they are ready to reply. He charges Us "with having *seized upon the Government.* "His Majesty changed his Ministers, last

"April, as he did twelve Months earlier; "each Time in Consequence of a Vote of "this House. So his Predecessors did; "and his Successors will, I doubt not, imi- "tate the Example. The Votes of Parlia- "ment always have, and always will, I "trust, decide on the Duration of Ministry. "Such is the Nature of our Constitution."

Then addressing himself to the House at large, "A double Game," exclaimed Fox, "is playing on this Occasion by Opposition, "to which, I hope, this Assembly, and the "whole Kingdom will pay Attention. It "is attempted to injure Administration "through two Channels at the same Time; "through *a certain great Quarter*, and "through the People. To the former, they "assert that the present Bill increases the "Influence of Ministers against the Crown: "while they persuade the Nation, that it "augments the Power of the Sovereign to "their Injury. That they will fail in both "these Experiments, I have no Doubt. In "the *great Quarter*, I trust, they are well "understood; because the *princely Mind of "that elevated Personage, forms a Security "against their Devices.* They will speedily

" dissipate by their Conduct, any tempo-
" rary Illusion which they may have spread
" among the Multitude." Nor was Fox less severe in his Remarks upon Jenkinson, than he had been, when commenting on Mr. Thomas Pitt. The former of those Gentlemen being seated near William Pitt on the Opposition Bench, as was likewise Dundas, " When I behold," observed the Secretary, " the Right Honorable Gentleman now sur-
" rounded by the Objects of his early and
" hereditary Aversion, and hear him revile
" *the Coalition*, I am lost in Amazement at
" his Inconsistence. Well may my noble
" Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer
" assert, that *We* never sought to attain
" Power by Cabal, or Intrigue! The safest
" Path to royal, as well as to popular Favor,
" is by reducing the Burthens, and restoring
" the Glory of the Nation." Then fixing his Eyes on Jenkinson, " Let those Persons," said he, " *who aim at Office through other*
" *Channels, by mysterious and inscrutable*
" *Means*, speak out! If they will not, the
" Country must perceive that their Arts
" cannot bear Examination, and that their
" Safety lies in their Obscurity. The Prin-
" ciples which *We* profess, are thoroughly

"known. With them I prefer to perish, "rather than maintain Myself by adopting "others." After endeavouring to do away the Effect of Powis's *Soliloquy*, which seemed deeply to affect him, Fox concluded by addressing his last Words to Pitt; who in the Course of a most able Speech, had declared that "he would stake his Cha-"racter with the Public, on the dangerous "Nature and Tendency of the *Bill* under "Discussion." "I meet him," said the Secretary, "in his own Terms of Defiance, "and I oppose him, Character against Cha-"racter. I stake upon the Excellence of "the present Measure, all that is most dear "to Men; Talents, Honour, present Repu-"tation, and future Fame. All these I risk "on the constitutional Safety, the enlarged "Policy, the Equity, and the Wisdom of the "*Bill*." There were Persons who thought that under all the Circumstances of the Case, the *Stake* was by no Means equal; and that it resembled the Armour of Diomed, when weighed in Value against that of Glaucus. The Division, however, which took Place at a very late Hour, fully equalled the Expectation of Ministers, being more than two to one. Ayes, 217. Noes, 103.

So numerous and flattering a Support, which proved how well the Secretary had prepared the Ground, only accelerated the final Catastrophe.

[8th December.] On the third Reading of the Bill, a new Auxiliary appeared on the Side of Opposition, in the Person of Mr. John James Hamilton, since raised by Pitt to the Dignity of a Marquis; who having taken his Seat only a few Days preceding, as a Member of the House, opened the Debate in a Speech of considerable Ability. Wilkes drew however far more Attention, not only by the decided Part which he took against the Measure itself, but, by the classic, nervous, and pointed Terms in which he inveighed against its Fabricators. "No Epithet," said he, "can reach the Enormity "of its Guilt, and I shall therefore content "Myself with characterizing it as a swindling Bill, drawn and presented by the Secretary of State, to obtain Money on false "Pretences. I consider it as the bitter "Fruit of *the Coalition*:—for, after the lamentable Consequences that resulted from "the Infraction of the *American Charters* "by the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, I

"believe he would never have ventured to "attack the Franchises and Property of a "great *chartered Company*, if he had not "connected himself in impious League with "so daring a Colleague. When he had se- "cured a fit Accomplice, the Plan and "Share of the Plunder being previously "adjusted, it was resolved between them, "to rob the East India Company. I protest "that I nourish no ill Will personally, to "either of the Secretaries of State; but I "deprecate and dread the unnatural, incon- "gruous Union of two Individuals, who "never could have been brought to coalesce, "except for the Division of the public Spoils, "and for the Partition of all Power among "themselves; to be followed by the Destruc- "tion of public Freedom, and the Inde- "pendance of this Assembly. The noble "Lord possesses, I believe, the most un- "spotted Integrity: but, Love of Place, "combining with Indolence of natural Dis- "position, led him throughout the whole "Progress of the American Contest, to con- "nive at Men in public Office fleecing the "State, beyond the Example of former "Times. His own Hands were clean; but, "not so those of his Dependants. As a

"private Nobleman, he is formed to be admired and beloved. To a rich Vein of "elegant, brilliant, and classic Wit, he joins "easy Manners, unaffected Suavity of Temper, and every amiable or companionable "Quality. Would to Heaven I could commend his Reverence for the Constitution, "his Love of Freedom, and his Zeal for the "Preservation of those Privileges and Franchises, which constitute the Birthright "of Englishmen!"

This accurate and admirable Portrait, sketched by the Hand of a Master who well knew the Original, was followed by an Apostrophé to Fox, not less calculated to attract Attention. "With the present Col"league of that noble Lord," continued Wilkes, "I have acted during many Ses"sions, in Hostility to him. By his Side I "fought in all the Struggles to repress the "Power of the Crown. With what Admi"ration have I listened to his manly Elo"quence, sustained by the Powers of Argu"ment and Reason! *So perfect a Parlia"mentary Debater, this Assembly has never "beheld!* I grieve when I reflect how un"availing have been all our Efforts, to pre-

"vent the Dismemberment of so large a "Portion of the Empire. But, I am indig- "nant when I see the noble Lord occupying "one of the highest Employments, re-con- "ducted to Power, nay, caressed and che- "rished by the very Man who solemnly "engaged to impeach him, as the *great* "*Criminal of State, the Corrupter of Par-* "*liament, the Author and Contriver of our* "*national Destruction.*"

From every Quarter of the House, the keenest Shafts were aimed at the Measure; some of which penetrated deep, while others only appeared to graze on the Surface; but, all left their Impression. While Pitt, powerfully sustained by Mr. William Grenville, and Dundas, attacked it with the Arms of Reason; others tried the Operation of Irony and Ridicule. Arden, who soon afterwards became Solicitor General, on the Change of Ministry, clung to it through every Stage with great Pertinacity and Spirit, not unaccompanied by legal Ability. The seven Commissioners, and their eight Assistant Directors, were compared by Mr. Wilberforce, to so many Doctors and Apothecaries, summoned for the Purpose of putting the Patient

the East India Company, to Death, according to the Rules of Art. Many Members, long accustomed to consider Fox, as the Star by which they guided their political Course, covered him on this Occasion, with Reproaches or Maledictions. Martin, a Man, who, though not distinguished by superior intellectual Parts, yielded to none in Probity, invoked Curses on the *Coalition*, as the Grave of all Principle. "When once the present "*Bill* is passed," said he, "Men who think "and act independantly, may spare themselves the Trouble of coming down to this "Assembly.—I will, however, steadily oppose it, as I have done in every former "Stage, till it is sent up to the Peers. I trust, "they will esteem it utterly inconsistent either "with their Justice, or with their Dignity, "to pass such a *Bill*. But, even if it should "be otherwise, one Hope is still left us.—"I mean, that His Majesty will refuse his "Assent to so pernicious a Measure." Martin did not hesitate to declare, that neither Sir George Savile, nor Sir Charles Turner, the latter of whom was already dead; and the former lay extenuated by Diseases which speedily conducted him to the Grave;—would, had they been present, have lent any

Countenance or Support to the East India Bill.

Sir Richard Hill, to whom Scripture was familiar, compared the Secretary's Conduct in affecting to protect and caress the East India Company, while he immolated them to his Ambition; with the Treachery of Joab to Amasa, who at the Moment that he pretended to embrace him, stabbed him to the Heart. "If," added Sir Richard, "I might "present a Gift to him who will have extend-"ed at his Feet, the whole Patronage of the "East, and who by this *Bill* will be rendered "greater than any Oriental Nabob:—If the "Secretary would deign to accept from my "Hands, so small a Boon as a Motto, I will "venture to offer him, "*Non sum qualis eram.*" In more homely Language, destitute of adventitious Ornament, Sir Cecil Wray declared that the Measure impressed him with Horror, from its Enormity, Corruption, and pernicious Consequences to the State. Some of the finest Passages of Shakspeare, taken from his "Julius Cæsar," were applied by Scott and Arden, to Fox, as the new *Dictator*, with extraordinary Effect. Powis accused the Secretary with deceiving himself and the House, by Professions of Zeal and

Disinterestedness, which served only as a Cover to his ambitious Designs. "He still "persists," said Powis, "to maintain the "Purity of his political Principles, and to "bid his deluded Countrymen confide in "his fair Promises. But, I form my Judg"ment by Measures, not by Men. And by "that Criterion I mean to try all the Sup"porters of the present enormous Measure, "which aims a mortal Blow at the Indepen"dance of Parliament." Jenkinson, temperately, but, in Language of Energy, depictured the unconstitutional Nature of the Power thus attempted to be set up, which must prove subversive of the Royal Prerogative; and from opposite Sides, Fox was assailed as the Enemy of his Country, who sacrificed to his insatiable Ambition, the Fame, the Character, and the Consideration, that he had attained by a long Series of public Services.

Not that he by any Means wanted Defenders distinguished for Integrity, as well as for legal and parliamentary Ability. Mr. Erskine spoke repeatedly, at great Length, during the Progress of the Bill, in Support of this obnoxious Measure. His Enemies pronounced his Performances tame, and des-

titute of the Animation, which so powerfully characterized his Speeches in Westminster Hall. They maintained that, however resplendent he appeared as an Advocate, while addressing a Jury, he fell to the Level of an ordinary Man, if not below it, when seated on the ministerial Bench; where another Species of Oratory was demanded to impress Conviction, or to extort Admiration. To me, who, having never witnessed his jurisprudential Talents, could not make any such Comparison, he appeared to exhibit shining Powers of Declamation. Lee, the Attorney General, in a Speech replete with that coarse, strong, and illiberal Species of Invective, which usually accompanied his Addresses to the House; and which always appeared to me, more befitting the Robin-hood Society, than accommodated to a Legislative Assembly; treated with indignant Contempt, the Repugnance manifested to violate the Charter of the East India Company. He did not even hesitate to describe that Charter, esteemed by many Members, so sacred, and incapable of Subversion except by arbitrary Violence, as "a mere "Skin of Parchment, to which was appended a Seal of Wax." This imprudent, if not censurable Declaration, coming from

such a Quarter, however qualified or palliated it might be by subsequent Explanations, operated injuriously to Ministers. With the same contumelious Levity he spoke of his Office, which, he said, "he valued "not a Rush;" adding, "my learned Friend, "(Arden,) should have it To-morrow, if I did "not conceive that by continuing to hold it, "I can be of some Utility to Administra-"tion." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, irritated at the severe Animadversions made by Mr. Thomas Pitt, on the Violence with which Administration had seized on the Reins of Government, denied the Charge with much Indignation. His Eloquence fell however far short of his Feelings, and was addressed rather to the moral Sense of his Auditors, than it appealed to their Understandings, or to their Judgment.

General Burgoyne, arriving Post from Ireland, (spontaneously, as he asserted;) and quitting the meaner Duties of Commander-in-Chief, which Employment he held in that Kingdom, in Order to fulfil his higher Obligations, as a Legislator at Westminster; spoke warmly in Favor of the Bill. Having many Years earlier acted as Chair-

man of one of the first Committees appointed by the House, for inquiring into the Affairs of the East, he was heard with Attention. He confirmed all the Horrors and Enormities attributed by Burke, to the Europeans who governed Asia: Atrocities, which the General illustrated by a Citation prepared for the Purpose, extracted from the Sixth Æneid of Virgil, descriptive of the Guilt of a powerful Criminal, such as Hastings might be esteemed, condemned for his Crimes on Earth, to undergo the Pains of Tartarus. It did not impress the House as powerfully as Arden's Line from Shakspeare, directed to Fox,

"It is the bright Day that brings forth the Adder."

or as Wilberforce's Invocation to the Secretary of State, under the Character of *the fallen Angel*, furnished by Milton. I remember Burke addressing Lord North, when first Minister, in somewhat similar Terms, shortly before his Resignation, early in 1782. Rigby professing an equal Contempt for Quotations from Shakspeare, or from Milton, and expressing his Admiration at hearing Scripture fall from the Lips of a Lawyer;

with none of which Materials for Debate, he said, that he came provided; yet professed to have furnished himself with some Arguments applicable to the Subject under Discussion. Without Circumlocution, or any false Scruples of fastidious Delicacy, he declared his utter Disregard of the chartered Rights of the Company, which he said, he considered "as a Bugbear, only fit to intimidate Children." He even advised their Violation, as the primary Step to all Reform in the Administration of India.

No Individual distinguished himself more throughout the whole Progress of these interesting Proceedings, than Sheridan; whose matchless Endowments of Mind, equally adapted to Contests of Wit, or of Argument, and ever under the Controul of imperturbable Temper, enabled him to extend invaluable Assistance to the Minister. But, neither was Fox wanting to himself, or to his Friends. On the contrary, performing every Function of a General, and of a private Soldier; combating in the front Ranks; leaving no Charge unrepelled, no Insinuation unnoticed, no Argument unrefuted; he filled with Astonishment, as well as with Admiration, even those who thought themselves

best able to appreciate the Magnitude and Extent of his parliamentary Talents. After defending his *Bill* from the severe Attacks of Pitt, he did not disdain or omit to answer the Allegations made by various Members of inferior Weight. To Powis, to Scott, to Dundas, and even to Martin, he severally directed the most pointed Replies, calculated to justify him, not only as a Minister, but, in his individual and moral Capacity. Determined on carrying through the *Bill*, without a Moment's Delay; apprehensive of new Obstacles arising, every Hour, within, as well as without the Walls of the House; and seeming to regard Parliament as convoked, not for the Purpose of Deliberation, but, of Decision; he refused to postpone the Measure, even for a single Night. Vainly, Scott adjured him, in the Language of Desdemona to Othello, "Kill "me not to-night, my Lord! let me live "but one Day!" The House, towards two o'Clock in the Morning, became so clamorous for the Question, that a Division was on the Point of taking Place, when an unexpected Incident prolonged the Discussion, and arrested the universal Impatience of the Assembly.

Mr. Henry Flood, one of the most celebrated Orators in the Irish Parliament, who had just been brought in for the City of Winchester; rising for the first Time, prepared to speak in the British House of Commons. His Appearance produced an instant Calm, and he was heard with universal Curiosity, while he delivered his Sentiments, which were strongly inimical to the East India Bill. Though possessing little local, or accurate Information on the immediate Subject of Debate, he spoke with great Ability and good Sense: but, the slow, measured, and sententious Style of Enunciation which characterized his Eloquence, however calculated to excite Admiration it might be in the Senate of the Sister Kingdom, appeared to English Ears, cold, stiff, and deficient in some of the best Recommendations to Attention. Unfortunately, too, for Flood, one of his own Countrymen, Courtenay, instantly opened on him such a Battery of Ridicule and Wit, seasoned with Allusions or Reflections of the most personal and painful Kind, as seemed to overwhelm the new Member. He made no Attempt at Reply, and under these Circumstances began the Division. It formed a tri-

umphant Exhibition of ministerial Strength, the *Coalition* numbering 208, while only 102 Persons, of whom I was one, followed Pitt into the Lobby. Yet within twelve Days afterwards he found himself first Minister, and so remained for above seventeen Years. Meanwhile, the Secretary never relaxed his Exertions, till, having surmounted all Opposition, he carried up the Bill, accompanied by a vast Number of his Adherents, who participated in his Success, to the Bar of the House of Peers. Its Passage through that Assembly being already secured, as he justly conceived, on solid Grounds, and the royal Negative never exciting any Apprehension, the Measure seemed apparently to be placed beyond the Reach of Fortune.

[9th—17th December.] But, with the Arrival of the East India Bill in the House of Lords, terminated nevertheless the prosperous Career of Ministers. The King, whose Opinions and Wishes, however they might have been suspected by, or even known to a few Persons, were not as yet publicly divulged, or clearly ascertained; now coming forward, as the Urgency of the

Occasion seemed to demand, communicated through authentic Channels, his utter Disapprobation of the Measure. Lord Temple, though one of the first Individuals thus authorized, formed by no means the sole or exclusive Medium, through which the Royal Pleasure was so signified and circulated. Very little Time, in Fact, remained to the Sovereign, if he desired to avert the impending Misfortune. For, the Secretary of State, who seems to have been well aware that as soon as the Measure was felt and understood, it would excite universal Alarm; had betimes secured such a Majority in the Upper House, as must speedily have left to the Crown no possible Means of Relief, except one scarcely known to the British Constitution since the Revolution of 1688; namely, a Refusal of the Royal Assent to the *Bill*, after its Passage through both Houses of Parliament. In this critical Juncture, His Majesty caused such Arguments or Expostulations to be offered to many Members of the House of Lords, Spiritual, as well as Temporal; and the Necessity of Resistance was so strongly depictured by his Emissaries, as to overturn all Fox's Machinery in an Instant. Proxies given to the

Minister, were suddenly revoked; and after first leaving the Administration in a Minority of Eight, upon the Question of Adjournment; the Bill itself was subsequently rejected two Days later, by Nineteen Votes. One hundred and seventy-one Peers voted on the Occasion, either in Person, or by Proxy; a prodigious Attendance, if we consider the limited Numbers of the British Peerage at that Time.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and of York, led the Way, though the former Prelate, whose Connexions, political and matrimonial, seemed to connect him with the *Coalition*, had been previously regarded as a firm Supporter of the Measure. The latter (Markham,) who was not less a Courtier than a Scholar, throughout Life always kept his Eye constantly fixed on the Throne. Nor can it excite Surprize, that all those noble Individuals without Exception, who occupied Situations in the Royal Household, or near the King's Person, should, without fastidiously hesitating, give the Example of Tergiversation. The greater Number among them, had only assented to the East India Bill, on a Supposition, and un-

der the Belief, that it had received the previous Concurrence or Approbation of His Majesty. They abandoned Ministers, and joined the Crown; manifesting by their Votes, how vast is the personal Influence of the Sovereign, when strenuously exerted, over the Members of the Upper House of Parliament. The Prince of Wales, who had only taken the Oaths and his Seat in that Assembly, on the first Day of the Session, the 11th of November; when it was moved to adjourn on the 15th of December, had voted in Person with the Administration. But, having received a Notification of his Father's Disapprobation of the East India Bill, and of the whole Conduct of Ministers, he absented himself on the second Division, when that Measure was finally rejected. Lord Rivers, one of the Lords of the King's Bedchamber, who had given his Vote by Proxy to the *Coalition*, on the first Question, withdrew it on the second Division; as did the Earls of Hardwicke and of Egremont. Lord Stormont, though as being a Member of the Cabinet, and President of the Council, he had personally supported the *Bill* on the 15th, when he considered it as having the Sanction of the Crown, yet voted on the

other Side, forty-eight Hours afterwards. His Uncle, the Earl of Mansfield, who was supposed to have influenced him in this Determination, exhibited the same Example. Both were present in the first Division, as Supporters of the Measure; and both appeared in the House as Enemies to it, when thrown out on the 17th of December. The Earl of Oxford, one of His Majesty's most antient Servants, who had been near his Person more than twenty Years, in the Capacity of a Lord of the Bedchamber; having been induced to support the *Coalition* by his Proxy on the 15th, sent it to the opposite Side, on the subsequent Division. Fox and Burke, together with many of their warmest Adherents, who during the Progress of the first Debate had remained on the Steps of the Throne, in order by their Presence to encourage their Friends in the Upper House, had the Mortification to witness the Defeat experienced on that Evening;—a Defeat which served as a Warning of its final Destiny.

The Debates which took Place in the Upper House, on the two Questions of Adjournment and of Rejection; however infe-

rior an Interest they excited, when compared with the Discussions that agitated the House of Commons on the same Subject; yet strongly arrested national Attention. Lord Thurlow, after reprobating the *Bill*, and treating with contemptuous Ridicule the Reports of the "Select Committee," on which defective or erroneous Foundations, the pretended Necessity for the Measure rested; declared that "if it passed, the "King would in Fact take the Diadem from "his own Head, and place it on the Head "of Mr. Fox." In more intemperate Language, scarcely befitting so dignified an Assembly, the Earl of Abingdon, a Nobleman of very eccentric Character, and restrained by no Forms of parliamentary Decorum, while expressing his Abhorrence of a Coalition which had given Birth to this political Monster; qualified Charles James Fox by Name, as "a Mountebank Secretary "of State, accustomed formerly to ascend "the Stages at Covent Garden, and at West-"minster Hall, from which he harangued "the Mob; but, now calling himself the "Minister of the People, though animated "by the criminal Ambition of Cromwell, "and aiming at regal Power." He even

accused the Secretary with exceeding in Violence, by his Seizure of the East India Company's Charter, the worst Acts of those Tyrants, Charles the Second, and his Brother James. With great Pertinacity, the Duke of Richmond pointed out the Injustice of the Measure: nor did the Ties of Consanguinity which connected him with Fox, prevent him from severely arraigning the recent Grant of a Pension of one thousand Pounds a Year, made to Sir William Gordon; in Order, by vacating his Seat for Portsmouth, that he might enable Government to introduce Mr. Erskine into the House of Commons, at this critical Juncture. Unsolicited, and unconnected with Party, Lord Camden entered his strong Protest against such an Infraction of all Law on the Part of Administration, by bringing forward an Act, not, as it professed to be, of Regulation, but, of rapacious Confiscation.

Ministers, thus powerfully assailed, if they exhibited the Talents, by no means displayed the Energies, exerted by their Opponents. Lord Loughborough, on whom devolved the principal Weight of defending the Government, found himself ill supported in that

Attempt. The Speaker, Lord Mansfield, voted indeed with Administration on the Question of Adjournment; but remained altogether silent, and extended no active Assistance. Conscious that his Colleagues had lost the Confidence of the King, the Duke of Portland alluded with Warmth, in the Course of Debate, to Lord Temple's recent Audience of the Sovereign, which he denounced as a Violation of the Constitution. But, that Nobleman avowing the Fact, and justifying it as the Privilege of an hereditary Counsellor of the Crown, to offer Advice, called on the Duke to bring forward against him a specific Charge. Lord Shelburne, though he once, I believe, attended in his Place, took no Part whatever in the Discussions, nor ever voted on the Question, either in Person, or by Proxy;—a Line of Conduct, which, when we consider that he had been expelled from Power by the *Coalition*, only a few Months earlier, opened a wide Field for political Speculation, on the Motives of his Silence or Secession.

It will be readily admitted, that if we try the Conduct of George the Third, in personally interposing to influence the Debates,

and to render himself Master of the Deliberations of the upper House, by the Spirit of our Constitution, as fixed since the Expulsion of James the Second; it appears at first Sight, subversive of every Principle of political Freedom. Such an ill-timed and imprudent Interference, had in Fact laid the Foundation of all the Misfortunes of Charles the First. But, the same Line of Conduct, which in 1641 excited general Indignation, in 1783 awakened no Sentiment of national Condemnation. On the contrary, the King's Position being perfectly understood; the Impossibility of his Extrication from the Ministerial Toils wound about him, appeared so clearly demonstrated, unless by a decided personal Effort to arrest the Bill in its Progress through the House of Lords, that the Country at large affixed its Sanction to the Act. There were, nevertheless, it must be admitted, many Individuals who thought that the royal Disapprobation should have been earlier signified; and who inclined to accuse the King of something like Duplicity or Deception, in his Treatment of Administration. We must however candidly allow, that he was not bound to observe any Measures of scrupulous Delicacy, with Men who

had entered his Cabinet by Violence, who held him in Bondage, and who meditated to render that Bondage perpetual. Nor was it easy for him to discover and to detect, by the Force of his own Intellect, without legal Assistance, the Invasions on his Independence and Prerogative, contained in the Provisions of the *Bill*, as originally submitted to him; till they were exposed and made manifest, by the Discussions that took Place in the House of Commons. The Rapidity with which it was carried up to the Peers, and the little Delay which Fox evidently meant it should there undergo, before it was presented for his Concurrence, left him no Option in his Line of Conduct, and very little Time for Action. These Reasons exculpated and justified an Interference, apparently so irreconcileable with the Genius of the British Constitution. A Fact not generally known, but, not the less true, is, that His Majesty was advised, and had taken the Resolution, if the Bill had actually passed the House of Lords, to have nevertheless refused to it the Royal Assent. He would then have instantly changed his Ministers, dissolved the Parliament, and thrown himself for Protection upon his People.

Those Persons who have had the best Opportunities of knowing his Character, and appreciating his Firmness under the most alarming or distressful Circumstances, while sustained by the Conviction of acting right; will not doubt or disbelieve the Fact. Nor would the Nation, probably, have condemned his Conduct, or have delivered him up again into the Hands of the *Coalition*. Happily however, the middle Line which he adopted, prevented the Necessity of recurring to such painful Extremities.

[17th December.] Though Fox's Bill was thus rejected by the upper House, he still remained, together with Lord North, in Possession of their respective Offices, no Change whatever in Administration having yet taken Place. Fox even delivered, as Secretary of State, from the Treasury Bench, the most bitter and animated Philippic ever pronounced within the Walls of the House of Commons; in the Course of which, he dealt out every Accusation against the Sovereign, and those Members of the House of Peers; the Prætorian Bands, or rather the *Janizaries*, as he denominated them; who had strangled the Measure by their Sultan's

Order. Nor did he hesitate to compare the Paper intrusted by his Majesty to Lord Temple, which had operated such injurious Effects to the Administration, with the Rescript of Tiberius sent to the Roman Senate from Capræa, for the Condemnation of Sejanus, unheard in his Defence, and without adducing Proofs of his Guilt. In classic Language, and in the Words of Juvenal, he reprobated such an Interference, as wholly destructive of the British Constitution.

The whole of this Debate formed one of the most curious and singular Scenes ever witnessed; the Ministers being virtually out of Office, though still occupying their official Seats; while Pitt and his Friends, though nominally in Opposition, in Fact possessed the royal Confidence. Fox anticipated indeed with Certainty, the total Rejection of his *Bill* in the upper House: but, as the Peers sate late before the Division took Place, the Fact was not known at the Hour when the Secretary made his memorable Philippic. The Proceedings in the House of Commons, were opened with a sort of mock Solemnity, calculated to give them a Degree of dramatic Effect; the Mace being sent

found, on a Request made to the Speaker, for the Purpose, to summon the Attendance of all Members found in the adjacent Rooms. This extraordinary Mandate from the Chair, so unusual, was designed to spread Alarm, as if the Privileges of the House were invaded by the unconstitutional Influence or Interference of the Crown. Precedents were sought for and found, for the Vote proposed to be adopted, in the Year 1640, when the Conduct of Charles the First was said to exhibit a striking Conformity with the Act of George the Third, in thus personally exerting himself through various noble Individuals, to throw out the East India Bill. The Elements of the Business being arranged and prepared, a second Motion was proposed from the ministerial Side of the House, reprobating, as "subversive of "the Constitution, the Attempt to report "any Opinion of his Majesty upon a de-"pending Bill, with a View to influence "Members." Its Object being to designate and to criminate Lord Temple, who had exerted himself more than any other Peer in circulating the royal Wishes, the Proposition was strongly opposed by Mr. William Grenville, that Nobleman's youngest

Brother. He called on the Accuser to stand forth, and to make good the Charge.

Pitt, after treating with Derision the preparatory Formalities, which introduced the Resolution then submitted to the House, demanded on what Ground the Assertion itself reposed, except upon vague Surmise, or common Rumour? Fox now came forward for the last Time in his ministerial Capacity, and in a Speech of unreasonable Length, but, of prodigious Energy, accompanied with more than ordinary Asperity of Language, he endeavoured to rally his disheartened Troops; among whom, many already began to perceive that they had committed themselves, on erroneous Suppositions, beyond their Intention. We may indeed safely assume, that only a small Proportion of the five Hundred and fifty-eight Members who then composed the lower House of Parliament, possessed Ability, Industry, and Leisure sufficient, in Addition to local Knowledge, for enabling them to weigh in their own Scales, the East India Bill:—a Measure of so complex and comprehensive a Nature in itself; and, at that Time, not at all generally understood throughout the Kingdom. Fox's Followers,

it is true, were for the most Part, zealously and personally attached to him, as their sole Leader, round whom they rallied, in, or out of Power. But, Lord North counted many Adherents, who, in supporting his Measures, believed that they were maintaining the Government, and looked more to the Minister, than to the Man. Various Individuals held Offices in the royal Household, or about the Court; among which Description of Members, a great Defection must naturally be expected. Such was the State of that Assembly on the Night of the 17th of December; one of the most extraordinary to be found in our History!

"The Deliberations of this Evening," observed Fox, when he rose, "must decide "whether we are to be henceforward Free-"men or Slaves; whether this House is the "Palladium of Liberty, or the Engine of "Despotism; whether we are prospectively "to exercise any Functions of our own, or "to become the mere Echo of secret Influ-"ence.—I trust, Englishmen will be as jea-"lous of that Influence, as superior to open "Violence.—The *Bill*, though matured by "all the Abilities of this House, and though

" supported by nearly two to one, on every " Division during its Progress, *will in all* " *Probability be lost elsewhere.* By whom? " By an independent Majority? No! By " the Votes of the Lords of the Bed-cham- " ber." After exhausting his Resentment on those noble Persons, who had, as he asserted, " forfeited by their Conduct, every " Claim to the Character of Gentlemen, and " degraded the characteristic Independence " of the Peerage, as well as vilified the " British Legislature in the Eyes of all " Europe," the Secretary diverged to other Topics of Declamation. " On what Foun- " dation," demanded he, " do the Ministers " stand, who come into Office by Means of " secret Influence? Have they not a Halter " about their Necks? They hold their Em- " ployments, not at the Option of the So- " vereign, but, of the very Reptiles who " burrow under the Throne. What *Man* " would stoop to such Humiliation! *Boys,* " without Judgment, Experience, or Know- " ledge of the World, may thus precipi- " tately follow the headlong Course of Am- " bition, and *vault into the Seat, while the* " *Reins are committed to other Hands:* but, " the Minister who can submit to such De-

"gradation, and the Country which tole-
"rates it, must be mutual Curses to each
"other."

Having thus depictured Pitt's Position, Fox turned round upon Jenkinson. "Dur-
"ing the Interregnum of the last Spring," observed he, "I never had a Doubt, with
"whom that disgraceful Suspension of Go-
"vernment originated. In like Manner, no
"sooner were pretended Grounds of Objec-
"tion stated to the East India Bill, than
"I instantly looked to the same Quarter.
"The same dark and mysterious Cabal
"which then invested the Throne, mislead-
"ing the royal Mind with unworthy Arts,
"has been once more employed to perform
"a similar Part. But, will this enlightened
"Country revert to those Ages, when Prin-
"ces were Tyrants, Ministers were Mini-
"ons, and Government only Intrigue?—For
"God's Sake, in every Case strangle us not
"in the very Moment when we look for
"Success, by an infamous Band of Bed-
"chamber Janizaries!—When the Hour ar-
"rives, and it may not be very distant,
"which shall dismiss me from the public
"Service, I will not imitate the Example

" set me by the late Chancellor of the " Exchequer, of lingering in Office, after the " national Voice calls on me to be gone. " *I did not come in by the Fiat of Majesty,* " *though by that Fiat I am not reluctant to* " *go out.* I ever stood, and wish only to " stand, on public Ground.—*The People of* " *England have made me what I am.* It " was by *their* Partiality I have been called " to a Station in *their* Service. Perhaps it " would not be treating *them* well, hastily or " precipitately to abandon the Post which " *they* have confided to me." Fox concluded nevertheless this Harangue, one of the most violent ever pronounced in my Time, within the Walls of the House, by an Encomium on the very Sovereign whose Service he was about to quit, and on whom he had thrown out so many severe Reflections. " No Man," said he, " venerates him more than I do, for " his personal and domestic Virtues." But, as he subjoined, that " the present Genera- " tion regarded his Majesty for the virtuous " Example which he exhibited, and Posterity " would long adore him for his *Progeny,*" Pepper Arden did not fail to remark, that Fox's Veneration for the Sovereign arose principally from Attachment to his *Posterity.*

Vainly, nevertheless, Pitt urged him to retire, and thus to anticipate his Dismission from Employment. Content with rendering the Majority of the House subservient to his Views, by passing various *Resolutions*, calculated not only to stigmatize the late Interference of the Crown; but, intended at the same Time to prevent the Interruption of their Deliberations, by any Act of Prerogative; all which Motions he carried by a Majority of more than two to one; the *Coalition* Ministers refused to give in their Resignation. Under these Circumstances, which called for Decision, the King displayed no Irresolution. Conscious that he had advanced too far to recede, either with Honor or with Benefit, he passed the whole of the 18th of December, in making Dispositions for the Formation of a new Cabinet; and finding, at a late Hour of the Evening, that the two Secretaries of State still declined to resign, he signified to them, by a Messenger, that he had no further Occasion for their Services. They received at the same Time, Information, that a personal Interview would be disagreeable to him; and were ordered to deliver up the Seals of their respective Departments, through the Me-

dium of the two Under-Secretaries, Fraser and Nepean. Mr. Fox immediately complied; but, Lord North having deposited the Seal of his Office in the Hands of his Son, Colonel North, one of his Under-Secretaries, who could no where be found for a considerable Time; the King waited patiently at St. James's, till it should be brought to him. Mr. Pollock, first Clerk in Lord North's Office, who had already retired to rest, being called out of his Bed, in consequence of the Requisition from His Majesty, went in Search of Colonel North. After a long Delay, he was found, and produced the Seal; which being brought to the King about One o'Clock in the Morning, he delivered it into Lord Temple's Hands, and then returned to the Queen's House.

[19th December.] On the ensuing Day, it being indispensable to form a Government with the least possible Delay, Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding his Youth, was placed at the Head of the new Cabinet, as first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; an Instance without Precedent in our Annals, and which will probably never

be again realized! Lord Bolingbroke, then Mr. St. John, had indeed, under Queen Anne, been made Secretary at War, as early in Life; and we have since seen Lord Henry Petty, now Marquis of Lansdown, at about the same Age, raised to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, in 1806, after Mr. Pitt's Decease. But, there is a wide Interval, from either of the above Examples, to the Elevation before us. If we reflect likewise on the decided Majority against which Pitt had to contend in the House of Commons, conducted by such Energies and Talents as Fox possessed; we may be tempted, on first Consideration, to accuse him of Imprudence and Temerity. The Event nevertheless proved, that in accepting Employment, under all the Disadvantages here enumerated, he had maturely weighed the Peril and the Consequences. Other Impediments, not less serious, presented themselves in the interior of the Cabinet recently formed; where Lord Temple insisted on the immediate Dissolution of Parliament, as a Step necessary to their ministerial Preservation, if not even to their personal Safety. But, Pitt, with consummate Judgment, while he retained in his own Hands so powerful an Engine,

which he held suspended over the House of Commons, abstained from using it, till the Progress of Affairs should justify the Interposition. Conscious that no Act of the Royal Prerogative, could be more generally repugnant to the Inclinations of the Members of the lower House, than a Dissolution before they had sat half the Period for which they had been elected, he resisted Lord Temple's Proposition; who, in Consequence immediately resigned, only three Days after his Appointment: thus involving the half-formed Administration in Confusion and Embarrassment, not wholly exempt even from some Degree of Ridicule and of Danger. Never did any Ministry commence its Career under a more inauspicious and apparently desperate Predicament, which was destined so long to retain Possession of the Reins of Power!

Pepper Arden having moved Pitt's *Writ* for the Borough of Appleby, Dundas, acting as his Delegate while he could not be personally present in the House, endeavoured to induce that Assembly to meet on the subsequent Day, (Saturday, the 20th of December,) in order to expedite the Passage of

the Land Tax. But, Fox, now out of Office, affecting to suppose that an immediate Dissolution of Parliament impended, peremptorily refused his Consent to the Proposition. He observed, that "though he did not deny "the Right of the Crown to dissolve, yet no "Person would venture to say, such a Prerogative ought to be exercised, *merely to "suit the Convenience of an ambitious young "Man.*" Lord Mulgrave, who not long afterwards became Joint Paymaster of the Forces under the new Ministry, supported Mr. Dundas; and in the Course of his Speech expressed great Pleasure, that "a "Faction which had too long maintained "Possession of Power, was at length driven "from Place." Lord North and Fox being seated close to each other on the Opposition Bench, sustained by a very numerous Attendance of their Friends, constituting an undisputed Majority of the Members present; a loud and general Laugh arose among them, at the Word *Faction.* "I am glad," resumed Lord Mulgrave, "to find that Gen-"tlemen are so merry upon their Misfortune. "I still however rejoice that their Power "is extinct. Not that I mean," looking at Lord North, "I am glad to see my noble

"Friend in the blue Ribband, out of Em-
"ployment. I respect his Character. I too
"well know his Integrity and Abilities, not
"to wish that he were in Office: but I la-
"ment to behold him in such bad Company."
Kenyon likewise spoke on the same Side, with his characteristic Disregard of all personal Objects or Interests, though he was made Attorney General only a few Days afterwards, for the second Time. "I am
"neither in the Secrets of those Persons
"who are just dismissed," said he, "nor of
"their Successors; and therefore I cannot
"know whether Parliament will, or will
"not be dissolved. If a Dissolution should
"take Place, I am ignorant whether I may
"have a Seat in the next House of Com-
"mons. Nor, indeed, do I wish it. But,
"be that as it may, I will support the Pro-
"position of Mr. Dundas, because the most
"fatal Consequences to public Credit must
"ensue, if the Land Tax does not speedily
"pass." Lord North answered both Kenyon and Lord Mulgrave, with his accustomed Suavity, Wit, and Powers of Argument: but Fox holding fast the Supremacy which he possessed over the House, refused to permit the Assembly to meet

on the following Day. Nor did Dundas venture on a Division, well knowing how decided a Superiority of Numbers the *Coalition* could command within those Walls. An Adjournment then took Place.

[20th and 21st December.] Meanwhile the Sovereign proceeded to constitute a new Administration; but, even after Lord Temple's Resignation, when the Cabinet was at length compleated, Pitt might be said to constitute its whole Strength in one House, as Lord Thurlow equally sustained the Weight of Government in the other Assembly. The great Seal was entrusted to the latter, for the fourth Time under the Reign of George the Third. Lord Gower, made President of the Council, and the Duke of Rutland, who was appointed Privy Seal, brought indeed collectively a considerable Accession of Parliamentary Interest and Connexions; but, could boast only a very scanty Addition of Eloquence, or of Talents. The new Secretaries of State, Lord Sydney, and the Marquis of Carmarthen, even if their Abilities had been of the most brilliant Description;—an Assertion which assuredly could not be made consistently with Truth;

—yet were both Members of the House of Peers: a Disadvantage only to be surmounted by Pitt's taking on himself, the whole Weight of Business in the House of Commons, and thus uniting in some Measure in his own Person, the Defence of every Department. Lord Howe, restored to the Head of the Admiralty, was re-admitted into the Cabinet; and the Duke of Richmond returned to the Ordnance: but no Mention was ever made of Lord Shelburne, for any Place in the Administration. He seemed to be completely extinct in the public Recollection.

Sir George Howard obtained the Command of the Forces; but, neither he, nor the Duke of Richmond, were taken into the Cabinet. The new Commander-in-Chief, a Man of almost gigantic Stature and Proportions, who had long been decorated with the Order of the *Bath*, was universally esteemed; himself highly bred, an accomplished Courtier, and a gallant Soldier: but, like Sir John Irwine, of whom I have had Occasion to speak, he owed his military Elevation and Employments, more perhaps to royal Favor, than to any distinguished Talents, or professional Services. He was one of the Repre-

sentatives for the Town of Stamford. His legitimate Descent from, or Alliance by Consanguinity with the Dukes of Norfolk, notwithstanding the apparent Evidence of his Name, was, I believe, not established on incontestable Grounds. He attained, as did General Conway, not many Years afterwards, to the Rank of Field Marshal; a Dignity of which the British Service had antecedently furnished only a few Examples. For the Embassy to Paris, the Duke of Dorset was selected by Pitt. As he honoured me with his Friendship down to the Close of his Life, or rather till he survived himself, it may be naturally expected that I should say a few Words respecting him. He was the Son of Lord John Sackville, elder Brother of Lord George; and succeeded collaterally to the Title, on the Demise of his Uncle, Charles, second Duke of Dorset, mentioned so frequently in "Dodington's Diary," as the Earl of Middlesex. The Duke, when named Embassador to Versailles, had nearly attained his fortieth Year. His Person, if not handsome, was highly agreeable; his Features, pleasing; the Expression of his Countenance, noble, and interesting; his Manners soft, quiet, ingratiating, and formed for a Court; destitute

of all Affectation, but, not deficient in Dignity. He displayed indeed, neither shining Parts, nor superior Abilities. Yet, as he possessed good Sense, matured by Knowledge of the World, had travelled over a considerable Part of Europe, and had improved his Understanding by an extensive Acquaintance with Mankind, he was well calculated for such a Mission. He had passed much Time in Italy, where he imbibed a strong Passion for all the Fine Arts, and a Predilection for Men of Talents and Artists;—a Taste which he indulged even beyond the Limits of his Fortune, and in the Gratification of which, he manifested that he inherited some of the Qualities of his celebrated Ancestor, Charles, Earl of Dorset. But, the Mediocrity of his Estate, when contrasted with his high Rank, imposed Limits on the Liberality of his Disposition. Considered as Embassador to France, though he could not sustain a Comparison for diplomatic Ability, or Strength of Intellect, with the Earl of Stair, or with the first Horace Walpole, Brother of Sir Robert, who had represented the English Sovereign, at the Courts of Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth; he might at least be regarded as

equal in Talents, to any of the Noblemen who had filled that Office during the last Years of George the Second, or under the Reign of George the Third; if we except, as we must do, Lord Stormont. To Marie Antoinette, the French Queen, the Duke of Dorset rendered himself highly acceptable, possessed her Esteem, and enjoyed some Degree of her personal Favor;—Circumstances by no Means unessential to a Man placed in his public Situation, as that Princess performed a much more important Part in the Cabinet and Councils of Louis the Sixteenth, than did the two Queens, her immediate Predecessors. Maria Theresa, Daughter of Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, who espoused Louis the Fourteenth; and Maria Leczinska, Consort of his Successor, possessed throughout their whole Lives, no Shadow of political Power or Interest. Marie Antoinette's Protection, aided by his Connexion with the Polignacs, had sufficed to procure for the Count d'Adhemar, at the Conclusion of Peace, the Embassy to the Court of England: but he was far inferior in every Accomplishment of Mind and of Manners, to the Duke of Dorset.

Mr. Arden became Solicitor General. Nature has seldom cast a human Being in a less elegant or pleasing Mould. Even Dunning's Person would have gained by a Comparison with Arden's Figure and Countenance. Nor were his legal Talents more conspicuous in the general Estimation of the Bar. But, his early Acquaintance with Pitt, which Time had matured into Friendship, covered or concealed every jurisprudential Deficiency. That powerful Protection, in Defiance of Lord Thurlow's avowed Dislike, or rather, Antipathy, conducted the new Solicitor General rapidly to the Honors and Dignities of the Law; finally placing him, where almost all those Individuals patronized by the Minister, found their ultimate Repose, in the House of Peers. He possessed no mean Talents for Debate, and displayed not only Ardour, but, Ability in the Defence of his Friends. When Fox, at this very Time proposed that a Resolution should be adopted, declaring any Minister criminal who should advise His Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, Arden instantly stood up to reprobate such Doctrine. "What Impediment," exclaimed he, "can be opposed to the just "Prerogative of the Crown? A Resolution

"of this House? He must be indeed a *timid* "Minister, unfit to govern this great Coun- "try, who can be deterred from advising a "Dissolution, by any Terror of such a Na- "ture. Is *this* House of Commons to judge "upon a Question of their own Continuance, "or Annihilation? That Measure is not to "be tried before such Judges. It will be "determined by *another* House within these "Walls; and *They* may possibly applaud, "instead of censuring or condemning the "Resolution. I admit that it is no light "Matter to advise such a Step: but, the "Individuals who are to be annihilated by "its Operation, are of all others the least "proper to decide respecting it." Fox replied, that "he must be a *bold* Minister in- "deed, who should dare to despise the "Voice of the People." But, Arden rose a second Time, and while he admitted that the People merited every Attention, when their Opinion was solemnly or clearly pronounced, maintained, and distinctly repeated his original Declaration. It must likewise be allowed, that no Man in Parliament, had given a more pertinacious and unremitting Opposition to Fox's East India Bill, than Arden. The last Blow aimed at it, before it

passed the lower House, came from his Lips. For, I recollect, that after that obnoxious Measure had been carried, on the third Reading, by a Majority of more than two to one; the Solicitor General, Mansfield, having risen to move for Leave to bring up a Clause, declaring it to be a *Public Bill*; Arden exclaimed, that "he had no Objection: but, that he was not surprized at "its having escaped his learned Friend's "Memory, as every other Person considered "the Bill to be a *Private Job*." With that Stigma impressed on the Measure, Fox, regardless of the Sarcasm, bore it in Triumph to the Bar of the Lords.

The King's Table, covered with Badges of Office, Seals, Wands, and Gold Sticks, profusely given in by the Adherents of the dismissed Ministers, presented an extraordinary Spectacle. Among the foremost to testify his ministerial Fidelity, the Honorable Charles Greville, next Brother to the Earl of Warwick, resigned his Office of Treasurer of the Household. Possessing, like his Uncle, Sir William Hamilton, an elegant Mind, and a Taste for many Branches of the fine Arts, which Pursuit had carried him into Expen-

ces beyond the Bounds of severe Prudence; his Resignation of such an Employment could not therefore be to him in any Sense, a Matter of Indifference. I have heard Mr. Greville, whom I very particularly knew, often say, that the King most kindly expostulated with him, when he entered the Closet to lay down his Place, and urged him by no Means to commit an Act so unnecessary; the Treasurership of the Household being, not a ministerial, but, a personal Situation in the Family of the Sovereign. I ought likewise to add that Fox, who well knew Mr. Greville's private Embarrassments, had, with a Liberality of Mind truly noble, exhorted him to retain his Post; absolving him at the same Time from all Considerations of a political Kind. But, his Feelings of Honor were too delicate, to permit of his following either the Suggestions of Convenience, the Exhortations of Fox, or the Expostulations of his Sovereign. He retired for several Years from Court, and from public Life, into comparative Obscurity.

Lord Hinchingbrook, less scrupulous, and perhaps with better Sense, instead of quitting his Office of Master of the Buck Hounds;

though his Father, the Earl of Sandwich, followed the Fortunes of the *Coalition*; wisely abandoned that obnoxious Party, and declined to give in his Resignation. Sir George Yonge went back to his Office of Secretary at War, which he had held under Lord Shelburne's Administration; a Post that seemed to be hereditary in his Family; his Father, Sir William Yonge, having occupied it with much Distinction, under the Reign of George the Second. Sir William, who performed no inconsiderable Part in the political Annals of that Period, was equally distinguished likewise in another Line, among the Men of Wit, Pleasure, and Gallantry. Lady Vane makes honorable Mention of him, in those Memoirs of her Life, which Smollet has inserted in the third Volume of his "Peregrine Pickle." I have heard Lord Sackville say, who remembered Sir William Yonge, that, when Secretary at War, having waited officially on John, Duke of Argyle, then Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, in Order to make his Report on a Matter of Business; the Duke kept him standing, while he himself remained seated for a considerable Time. Their ministerial Conference being ended, he immediately re-

quested Sir William to take a Chair. "No, "Sir," replied he, "if the Secretary at War "is not worthy to sit down in the Presence "of the Commander-in-Chief; it would be "altogether unbecoming Sir William Yonge, "to be seated in Company with the Duke "of Argyle." So saying, he abruptly quitted the Room. Sir George Yonge, with whom I was much acquainted, did not want Talents, and he maintained his Place in a Debate, though he possessed no Pretension to Eloquence: but, in parliamentary Capacity, I always considered him as inferior to his Father.

[22d—24th December.] Meanwhile Fox, who remained completely Master of the House of Commons, where Mr. Pitt could not even appear during the Time necessary for his Re-election; might be said to sway with absolute Power, the Deliberations of that Assembly. His first Cares were directed to prevent either a Prorogation, or a Dissolution of Parliament, by adopting Resolutions calculated to render each of those Proceedings, difficult and dangerous to Ministers. Having consented to pass the Land Tax Bill, for which Act of Compliance with

public Necessity, he assumed no ordinary Merit, as a Proof of his Superiority to all interested or factious Views, he made a full Display of his Omnipotence within those Walls. Nor could all the Assurances given by Mr. Dundas from the Treasury Bench, though confirmed by Mr. Bankes, the Friend and Representative of the new First Minister; declaring by his express Authority, that he would neither advise such an Act of Prerogative, nor would continue in Office, if the Crown had Recourse to it; prevail on Fox to allow of an Adjournment for the Christmas Recess, till he had voted, without experiencing any Impediment, an Address to the Throne, of the most criminating Nature, which was ordered to be presented by the whole House. Affecting to consider Pitt as a mere Creature of secret Influence, the Child of the back Stairs, Fox treated Bankes's reiterated Protestations in the Name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the most insulting and contemptuous Levity or Disregard. "As far as that Gentleman's private Character is concerned," said Fox, "I would readily take his Word; "but, to speak plainly, if I was, myself, in "the Situation which he now fills, knowing "as much as I do of the Power of secret

"Influence, I would not ask any Man to "take my Word. Because, at the very "Moment when I might be engaged in de- "claring that Parliament would not be dis- "solved, that very Measure might be deter- "mined on, in Consequence of secret Ad- "vice.—It is the Duty of the House to banish "that pernicious and baneful Agent, secret "Influence, for ever from about the Throne." Bankes still pressing the Point, and repeating, that "if any Idea of proroguing or dis- "solving Parliament should be entertained "*anywhere*, Mr. Pitt would instantly resign;" Fox replied, "I have no Doubt that he "might act spiritedly on the Occasion: but, "what Compensation could his Resignation "produce to the Public, for the Evils which "must result from a Dissolution?—There is "not a Moment to be lost! and I hope that "if any Adjournment at all takes Place, it "will only be for a few Days."

On receiving the King's Answer, which, though gracious and conciliating in its Expressions, did not breathe the less Determination; after passing upon it the most severe Comments, as a Mixture of Duplicity and Ambiguity, Fox then permitted of an Adjournment for the short Period of Six-

teen Days; an Interval indispensably requisite to complete the ministerial Arrangements. The Resignation or Dismission of the new Administration, was however confidently anticipated by the Party, and announced by Fox himself in one of his Speeches;—I think, on the 24th of December;—when he ventured to predict, that its Duration could not possibly exceed a few Weeks. "The State of this Country," exclaimed he, "will not admit of a long Re-"cess:—for, as the present Ministers *cannot* "*stand long*; and indeed, to talk of the Per-"manency of such an Administration, would "only be laughing at and insulting them; "it will become necessary to move for ano-"ther Set of Writs, after the Holydays, in "the Room of those Gentlemen who must "vacate their Seats, on the Formation of a "new Government. In Order therefore to "prevent the Calamities that menace the "Constitution, I would propose the shortest "Recess possible."—"It may be urged, that "knowing, as I do, the Ministry *cannot last*, "I manifest an Impatience to be restored to "Office. I do not *know* that I shall form "one of the next Administration; but I con-"fess, I am impatient that the Sense of the

"House may be speedily taken on the pre-"sent Ministers." So confident was he, indeed, or at least he pretended, to be, of Pitt's inevitable Dismission, that he mentioned in a subsequent Part of his Speech the *Youth* of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the *Weakness* incident to his early Period of Life, as the only possible Excuse for his Temerity in accepting Office. How far Fox thoroughly believed his own Predictions of his Rival's imminent Fall, may perhaps be questioned; but, the most experienced Members among them, with Welbore Ellis at their Head, joined ostensibly in this Opinion; which, it must be confessed, was built upon all the Precedents known since the Elevation of the House of Hanover to the Throne.

Lord North, who had been absent, from the Effect of Indisposition, during a great Part of the Debates, while the East India Bill was in its Progress through the House of Commons; made ample Compensation for his short and involuntary Retreat, by his Presence and Exertions after the Dismission of Ministers. During the Number of Years that I sat with him in Parliament, I never witnessed a more brilliant Exhibition

of his intellectual Powers, than on the 22d of December, when Erskine moved for an Address to the Throne, deprecating a Dissolution. Indeed, from the Instant he rose, till he concluded, almost every Sentence teemed with the keenest Wit, or with the most severe, yet delicate Satire. In the Commencement of his Speech, Lord North justified by cogent Arguments, his Union with Fox, as having been dictated by State Necessity and public Utility; eulogizing in animated Language, the Virtues, no less than the Abilities, of his late Colleague, whom he wished in future always to be designated as his "Right Honorable Friend." "Our political Connexion," continued he, "was founded on Principles of mutual Ho-"nour. The great Points of Policy on which "we had differed, being no more, we "thought that without Inconsistency we "might cordially act together. The Expe-"riment has succeeded. No little Jealousies "have disturbed our Union. All has been "good Faith on one Part, and Confidence on "the other. No unworthy Concessions were "made by either Side. I appeal to my Right "Honorable Friend, if I ever renounced or "sacrificed any Opinion resting on Principle,

"unless when the Propriety of such Renun-
"ciation became apparent from Reason and
"Argument. On the other Hand I must
"declare in Justice to him, that he never
"abandoned any Principle which he main-
"tained when in Opposition to my Govern-
"ment."—"We are charged with having
"*seized* on the Reins of Power. This, I
"confess, is a Charge which I do not under-
"stand:—for, the Country waited full six
"Weeks, without having any Administra-
"tion. Every Effort was vainly exerted to
"form a Cabinet, and when all Means failed,
"the Ministers quitted their Offices. The
"Cabinet remained empty; so that if we
"*seized* on it, we could only have so done,
"by marching in after the Garrison had
"fled; who, while evacuating the Fortress,
"exclaimed, 'What a cursed *Coalition* is
"this, which expels Us from our Situa-
"tions!'—If, however, we did get Possession
"of Power, we at least carried it by Storm,
"bravely, in the Face of the Enemy, not
"by Sap. We made our Advances above
"Ground, in View of the Foe. Not by
"mining in the dark, and blowing up the
"Fort, before the Garrison knew that any
"Attack was meditated."

The Ingenuity, Pleasantry, and Force of this eloquent Defence, can hardly be exceeded. Then, after severely arraigning the Mode of Pitt's Admission into the Cabinet, which he stigmatized as surreptitious and unconstitutional; he diverged with inconceivable Humour into the Path of Ridicule, so analogous to his Formation of Mind. Alluding to the Wish expressed more than once by Mr. Martin, (borrowed from Hotspur's Invocation in Shakspeare,) that a Starling should be perched on the Speaker's Chair, who might incessantly repeat the Words, "Cursed *Coalition!*" he observed, that so long as an Honorable Member of that House, "continued to pronounce those Sounds, as "if by Rote, and without any fixed Idea, let "what would be the Subject of Debate; he "conceived the Starling to be unnecessary, "inasmuch as the Gentleman would make "just as great an Impression as the Bird, "on his Hearers." Having convulsed the House with Laughter, by this severe, but, ludicrous Remark, he compared, or rather he contrasted, the Conduct of the two Men who were shut up in the Eddystone Lighthouse, during six Weeks, with the opposite Line of Action embraced by Fox and himself.

"Those Men," said he, "from reciprocal "Enmity, preferred letting the Fire go out, "and beholding the Navy of England "dashed to Pieces, rather than lend each "other any Assistance. But, we, animated "by other and more enlarged Sentiments, "considered the Preservation of the Vessel "of State, our primary Duty; and, we "agreed, that at all Events, the Fire in "the Lighthouse should not be extin-"guished." An Allusion so ingenious, as well as felicitous, almost electrified his Audience; and if Wit could have supported or restored the *Coalition*, it must, when falling from his Lips, have overborne every Impediment. But, the moral Impression made on the public Mind, to their Disadvantage, daily acquiring Strength, finally compleated their Downfal, though the Catastrophe was protracted for more than three Months, by various Circumstances.

[26th—31st December.] If the Struggle for Power had lain only between Pitt and Fox, the former of whom, whatever might be the Extent of his Talents, was unable to command a Majority upon any Question that arose in the House of Commons, while the

latter carried every Motion; the Contest would, no doubt, have been soon decided. Or, had the Dispute been, as under Charles the First, between the Sovereign, claiming to exercise Prerogatives antiquated and oppressive, on the one Hand; and the representative Body on the other, propelled and sustained by the People, as their Organs and Protectors against arbitrary Violence; —the Termination might have been foreseen without much Penetration. But, Fox, though he was become by his Union with Lord North, Master of the Deliberations of the lower House, had sacrificed to that very Union, in a considerable Degree, the good Opinion of the Country; and the Remains of his former Popularity which survived his *Coalition* with Lord North, had since been shipwrecked in the *India Bill*. He had therefore imprudently, though as it would nevertheless seem, reflectively, engaged in a Conflict, where the Crown and the Nation both combined against him. Without the Aid of the People, the Sovereign would, indeed, have been powerless. As little could the House of Peers, unsupported by the public Voice, have checked his Career. It was their Union which became irresistible. Fox, who, whatever his Admirers may

assert, possessed more Genius, Eloquence, and Talent, than Prudence or Judgment; does not appear to have deeply weighed and appreciated these Facts, before he entered the Lists. Unfortunately for him too, the Champion wanted by the Crown, and who seemed to be expressly made for the Conjuncture, presented himself in Pitt. His Name, rendered illustrious by his Father's public Services; the Decorum of his Manners, so opposed to those of Fox; even his very Youth, which should have operated against him, appeared to recommend him to national Favor. The King availed himself of these Aids, to overwhelm the *Coalition* under the Ruins of the Fortress which they had so nearly constructed, and fondly deemed inassailable. Only Time was still wanting, in Order to enlighten, to awaken, and to animate the People at large; who not being as yet fully informed upon all the Points of Fox's *Bill*, required to be roused into Exertion, before the last Address should be made to them as Electors.

I well remember, not more than a Fortnight subsequent to the Period of which I am now speaking, Governor Johnstone rising in the House;—I believe, it happened

on the first Day of their Meeting after the Recess, the 12th of January;—insisted with great Force of Reasoning, on this Point. I knew Johnstone well, consulted, and indeed acted in some Degree of Concert with him, throughout the whole Progress of the *East India Bill.* He was not less attached to Lord North, than myself; but, that amiable Nobleman, as well as most accomplished Statesman, no longer held the Reins. Surrendering all his own Volitions, he seemed to adopt those of his more active, as well as ambitious Colleague:—for, assuredly, Lord North, if he had not been associated with Fox and Burke, would never, from the Suggestions of his own Judgment, or Inclination, or Opinion, have originated so strong and unconstitutional a Measure. He was carried along by the Torrent, and finally swept away in its Course. Johnstone, addressing the House of Commons, expatiated on the Rapacity, and other Features of Fox's *Bill.* "It becomes," said he, "more "detested from Day to Day, by the wisest "and most impartial Men throughout the "Nation, as the confiscating Principle on "which it is founded, and the Artifice with "which it has been carried on so far towards "its Completion, are more known and un-

"derstood by all Ranks. The Rejection "of so dangerous an Experiment on the "British Constitution, is regarded by every "thinking Individual, as one of the greatest "Triumphs over inordinate Ambition, re- "corded in our Annals. I do not assert "that these Sentiments have *as yet pervaded* "*the lower Orders of Society.* The Dangers "arising from political or legislative Institu- "tions, when veiled by the Arts and Elo- "quence of superior Statesmen, or of ac- "complished Orators, are not immediately "obvious to the wisest Capacity, and make "their Way slowly to vulgar Comprehen- "sion. Thank God, they are obviated for "the present Moment! But, whether there "exist Sense and Virtue sufficient in the "Country, to protect us from the Machina- "tions still carried on against the public "Freedom;—forms the great Cause of that "Struggle, on which we are assembled to "decide within these Walls."

Pitt, with a Judgment beyond his Years, instead of prematurely dissolving the House of Commons, as a Man of meaner Talents, or of less Resource, would have done; undertook the Experiment of endeavouring first to conciliate, or to convince, the Majo-

rity; thus allowing the popular Sentiment full Leisure to expand, and finally to overpower all Resistance: while he reserved for the proper Moment, whenever it should be thoroughly matured, his final Appeal to the Country, by a Dissolution. Such was the real State of Affairs in the last Days of December, 1783, at the Time when Pitt, contrary to all Precedent, and under apparent Difficulties the most insurmountable, ventured to accept the Reins of Government.

It forms an Object of the most natural and rational Curiosity, minutely to survey him at this critical Period of his Life. He was not then much more than Twenty-four Years and a Half old, and consequently had not attained the Age, at which many Individuals, under the testamentary Dispositions of their Parents, are still legally considered to be in a State of Tutelage or Minority. In the Formation of his Person he was tall and slender, but, without Elegance or Grace. His Countenance, taken as a whole, did not display either the fine Expression of Character, or the Intellect of Fox's Face, on every Feature of which, his Mind was more

or less forcibly depictured. It was not till Pitt's Eye lent Animation to his other Features, which were in themselves tame, that they lighted up, and became strongly intelligent. Fox, even when quiescent, could not be mistaken for an ordinary Man. In his Manners, Pitt, if not repulsive, was cold, stiff, and without Suavity or Amenity. He seemed never to invite Approach, or to encourage Acquaintance; though, when addressed, he could be polite, communicative, and occasionally gracious. Smiles were not natural to him, even when seated on the Treasury Bench; where, placed at the Summit of Power, young, surrounded by Followers, Admirers, and Flatterers, he maintained a more sullen Gravity than his Antagonist exhibited, who beheld around him only the Companions of his political Exile, Poverty, and Privations. From the Instant that Pitt entered the Door-way of the House of Commons, he advanced up the Floor with a quick and firm Step, his Head erect and thrown back, looking neither to the right nor to the left; nor favouring with a Nod or a Glance, any of the Individuals seated on either Side, among whom, many who possessed five Thousand Pounds

a Year, would have been gratified even by so slight a Mark of Attention. It was not thus that Lord North or Fox treated Parliament; nor from *Them*, would Parliament have so patiently endured it: but, Pitt seemed made to guide and to command, even more than to persuade or to convince, the Assembly that he addressed.

In the Flower of Youth when he was placed at the Head of Administration, he manifested none of the characteristic Virtues or Defects usually accompanying that Period of Life. Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, could not have exhibited more Coldness, Indifference, or Apathy towards Women; a Point of his Character, on which his Enemies dwelt with malignant, though impotent, Satisfaction: while his Friends laboured with equal Pertinacity to repel the Imputation. To him the Opposition applied, as had been done to his Father, the Description given of a Roman Youth:

> "Multa tulit, fecitque *Puer;* sudavit et alsit;
> "Abstinuit Venere."———

In Order to justify him from such a sup-

posed Blank in his Formation, his Adherents whispered, that he was no more chaste than other Men, though more decorous in his Pleasures; and they asserted, that he made frequent Visits to a Female of distinguished Charms, who resided on the other Side of Westminster Bridge: but I never could learn from any of them, her Name or Abode. Pitt's apparent Insensibility towards the other Sex, and his Chastity, formed indeed, one of the Subjects on which the Minority exhausted their Wit, or rather, their Malevolence; as if it had been necessary that the First Minister of George the Third, should be, like the Chancellor of Charles the Second, "the greatest Libertine in his "Dominions." I recollect, soon after Pitt became confirmed in Power, his detaining the House of Commons from the Business of the Day, during a short Time, while he went up to the House of Lords; and as Mrs. Siddons was to perform the Part of "Belvidera" that Evening, when Fox never failed, if possible, to attend, seated among the Musicians, in the Orchestra at Drury Lane, the Opposition impatiently expected Pitt's Return, in Order to propose an Ad-

journment. As soon as the Door opened, and he made his Appearance, one of them, a Man of a classic Mind, exclaimed,

"Jam redit et *Virgo!*"

If, however, the Minister viewed Women with Indifference, he was no Enemy to Wine, nor to the social Conviviality of the Table. His Constitution, in which a latent and hereditary Gout early displayed itself; which Disorder, heightened by political Distress, domestic and foreign, carried him off at Forty-seven; always demanded the Aid and Stimulus of the Grape. It was not therefore in him, so much a Gratification or an Indulgence, as a physical Want, though he unquestionably yielded to its Seductions, without making any great Effort at Resistance; resembling in this Respect, a distinguished Consular Character of Antiquity, relative to whose Virtue Horace says,

"Narratur et Prisci Catonis,
"Sæpe Mero caluisse Virtus."

In the Autumn of 1784, he had indeed nearly fallen a Victim to one of those festive Meetings, at which no severe Renunciations

were enjoined by the Host, or practised by the Guests. Returning, by Way of Frolic, very late at Night, on Horseback to Wimbledon, from Addiscombe, the Seat of Mr. Jenkinson, near Croydon, where the Party had dined; Lord Thurlow, who was then Chancellor, Pitt, and Dundas, found the Turnpike Gate situate between Tooting and Streatham, thrown open. Being elevated above their usual Prudence, and having no Servant near them, they passed through the Gate at a brisk Pace, without stopping to pay the Toll; regardless of the Remonstrances or Threats of the Keeper of the Turnpike, who running after them, and believing them to belong to some Highwaymen, who had recently committed Depredations on that Road, discharged the Contents of his Blunderbuss at their Backs. Happily he did no Injury. To this curious and narrow Escape of the first Minister, which furnished Matter of Pleasantry, though perhaps not of rejoicing, to the Opposition, Allusion is thus made in the "Rolliad:"

"How as he wandered darkling o'er the Plain,
"His Reason drown'd in Jenkinson's Champaign,
"A Rustic's Hand, but righteous Fate withstood,
"Had shed a Premier's, for a Robber's Blood.

Probably, no Men in high Office, since Charles the Second's Time, drank harder than Pitt's Companions; as, in Addition to the Individuals already named, we should not omit the Duke of Rutland and Lord Gower, neither of whom professed or practised Mortification. Once, and once only, the House of Commons witnessed a Deviation from strict Sobriety in the first Minister and the Treasurer of the Navy; who having come down after a Repast, not of a Pythagorean Description, found themselves unable to manage the Debate, or to reply to the Arguments of the Minority, with their accustomed Ability. No illiberal Notice or Advantage was however taken of this solitary Act of Indiscretion. The House broke up, and it sunk into Oblivion. Fox never subjected himself, either in, or out of Office, to similar Comments. He was always fresh; but, the Treasury Bench, under the *Coalition* Ministry, had not wanted some noble Advocates of the House of Howard, for the quick Circulation of the Bottle.

Pitt, at his coming into Office, was soon surrounded by a chosen Phalanx of young Men, who participated in his Triumph, pres-

sed near him on a Day of expected Debate, and constituted the Resource of his leisure Hours. Powis, when describing about this Time, "the Forces led by the Right Honor-"able Gentleman on the Treasury Bench," in his Speech of the 9th of March, 1784, only a few Days previous to the Dissolution of Parliament; said, "The first may be "called his Body Guard, composed of "light young Troops, who shoot their little "Arrows with amazing Dexterity, against "those who refuse to swear Allegiance to "their Chief." High Birth, personal Devotion, and political Connexion, more than Talents, formed the ordinary Foundation of the Minister's Partiality for those distinguished Individuals; most of whom, with only one Exception, we have since seen elevated to the Peerage, or loaded with Preferments and sinecure Appointments. In general, the Duke de Montausier's Observation to Louis the Fourteenth, when speaking of Versailles, "*Vous avez beau faire,* "*Sire, vous n'en ferez jamais qu'un Favori* "*sans Mérite,*" might well apply to them. With Fox's Associates and Comrades, Hare, Fitzpatrick, and Sheridan, they could sustain no Competition for mental Endow-

ments. Lord Grenville, then Mr. William Grenville, must not however be included in this Remark. His near Connexion with the first Minister, by Consanguinity, when added to his distinguished Abilities, placed him on far higher Ground. As little will the Observation apply to Lord Mornington, since created Marquis Wellesley; to the present Earl of Harrowby, then Mr. Ryder; or to Wilberforce: all three, Men of undisputed Talents.

In Suavity of Temper, Magnanimity of Disposition, and Oblivion of Injury or Offence, Fox rose superior to Pitt. Even Dundas possessed far more Liberality of Character, as he manifested on many Occasions. I have heard Fox, after dealing out the severest Insinuations or Accusations against Lord North, when that Nobleman was at the Head of the Treasury, towards the End of the American War; on being convinced that he had exceeded the fair Limits of parliamentary Attack, or had deviated into personal Abuse, explain, retract, and apologize for his Violence or Indecorum. Mr. Pitt, though he rarely committed such a Breach of Propriety, and

was more measured in his Censure or Condemnation, seldom, if ever, made Concession. He even tried, at an early Period of his ministerial Career, to overbear Sheridan, by making sarcastic Allusion to the theatrical Employments or dramatic Avocations of that eminent Member, as forming a more appropriate Object of his Attention, than parliamentary Declamation, and Pursuits:—Allusions, which, however classic the Language in which they were couched, might be justly deemed illiberal in their Nature. But, Sheridan, with admirable Presence of Mind, turned against him his own Weapons; leaving behind him the Impression of his Genius, drawn from the very Key on which Pitt had pressed, when he applied to the first Minister, the Denomination of the "Angry Boy," with which *Ben Jonson* furnished him on the Instant.

In classic Knowledge and Acquirements of every Kind, as drawn from Greek and Roman Sources, Pitt and Fox might fairly dispute for Pre-eminence; but the latter left his Rival far behind, in all the Variety of elegant Information derived from modern History, Poetry, and foreign Languages.

We ought not, indeed, to be surprized at this Superiority, if we recollect that Fox was above ten Years older than Pitt, that he nourished a much stronger natural Attachment to polite Letters, and enjoyed infinitely more Leisure for its Indulgence. Pitt, as far as my Means of Information ever enabled me to form a Judgment, possessed comparatively small general Acquaintance with those Authors, which furnish the Libraries of Men of Taste and Science. How, indeed, we may ask, should he ever have attained it? Several Months before he compleated his twenty-second Year, he found himself, with a very slender Fortune, placed in the House of Commons, which Situation opened to his aspiring and ambitious Mind, the most brilliant Prospects of Elevation. From that Period, if we except the Prorogation of 1781;—for in 1782, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1783, he visited the Continent;—what Portion of Time could he devote to literary Pursuits or Accomplishment? Near seven Years later than the Period of which I speak, in the Autumn of the Year 1790, when it was expected that a Rupture would have taken Place, between the

Crowns of Great Britain and Spain, respecting the Affair of Nootka Sound; being alone with him in Downing Street, and conversing on the Subject of the Spanish Possessions lying along the Shore of the Pacific Ocean, he owned to me that he not only never had read, but, he assured me, he never had heard of Commodore Byron's *Narrative* of his Shipwreck in the "Wager," on the Coast of Patagonia:—A Book to be found in every Circulating Library. But, on the other Hand, the Rapidity and Facility with which he acquired, digested, and converted to Purposes of Utility, his Knowledge, was altogether wonderful. With the French Language he was grammatically conversant; but, at twenty-five he spoke it imperfectly, and wrote in it without Freedom or Facility, though he subsequently improved in these Particulars. I repeat it, as a Secretary of State for the foreign Department, he could have sustained no Competition with Fox, in all the Branches of solid, or of ornamental Attainment, that qualify for such a Situation.

It is not easy to decide relative to their respective Superiority in Eloquence. Fox's

Oratory was more impassioned: Pitt's could boast greater Correctness of Diction. The former exhibited, while speaking, all the Tribunitian Rage: the latter displayed the Consular Dignity. But, it must not be forgotten, that the one commonly attacked, while the other generally defended; and it is more easy to impugn or to censure, than to justify Measures of State. Had they changed Positions in the House, the Character of their Speeches would doubtless have taken a Tinge, though it would not have been radically altered, by such a Variation in their political Destiny. From Fox's finest Specimens of Oratory, much, as it appeared to me, might generally have been taken away, without injuring the Effect, or maiming the Conclusion. To Pitt's Speeches nothing seemed wanting, yet was there no Redundancy. He seemed, as by Intuition, to hit the precise Point, where, having attained his Object, as far as Eloquence could effect it, he sat down. This distinctive and opposite Characteristic of the two Men, arose, partly at least, from an Opinion or Principle which Fox had adopted. He assumed, that one-third of his Audience was always either

absent, or at Dinner, or asleep; and he therefore usually made a short Resumption or Epitome of his Arguments, for the Benefit of this Part of the Members. So that, after speaking at great Length, and sometimes apparently summing up, as if about to conclude; whenever he saw a considerable Influx of Attendance, he began anew: regardless of the Impatience manifested on the Part of those, whose Attention was already exhausted by long Exertion. Pitt never condescended to avail himself of such a Practice; neither lengthening his Speeches, nor abbreviating them, from any Considerations except the Necessity of fully developing his Ideas. Indeed, so well was the relative Proportion of Time generally taken up by the two Speakers, on great Occasions, known to the old Members, that they calculated, whenever Fox was three Hours on his Legs, Pitt replied within two. In all the corporeal Part of Oratory, he observed likewise more Moderation and Measure than Fox; who on great Occasions, seemed, like the Pythian Priestess, "to labour with th' "inspiring God," and to dissolve in Floods of Perspiration. The Minister, it is true,

became sometimes warmed with his Subject, and had occasionally recourse to his Handkerchief: but, rather in Order to take Breath, or to recall his Thoughts, by a momentary Pause, than from physical Agitation.

A vital Defect in Pitt's Composition as a Man, must be esteemed his Want of Economy; it was hereditary, constitutional, and remained insurmountable down to the Close of his Life. The great Earl of Chatham, his Father, had to contend with the same characteristic Deficiency; and never understood, as Lord Holland had done, the Art of accumulating a Fortune. But, the first Mr. Pitt, besides the lucrative Sinecure of the Privy Seal, which he held during several Years, enjoyed the Estate of Burton Pynsent in the County of Somerset, bequeathed to him by Sir William Pynsent; together with a Pension of three Thousand Pounds a Year, bestowed on him by the Crown. None of these Possessions, however, descended to his second Son, whose whole patrimonial Inheritance amounted, I believe, only to five Thousand Pounds; and it never received any ostensible Augmentation, ex-

cept a Legacy of three Thousand Pounds, bequeathed him in October, 1787, by the Duke of Rutland. We may therefore be enabled, with these Data, to form some Idea of the Elevation of Pitt's Mind, his Contempt of Money, and his Disregard of every selfish or interested Object; when, on Sir Edward Walpole's Decease, in January, 1784, he disdained to take the Clerkship of the Pells in the Exchequer, though, as the Head of that Department, he might have conferred it on himself; though Lord Thurlow pressed him not to reject such a fair Occasion of rendering himself independent; and though every Man in the Kingdom must have approved the Act, on an impartial Survey of his Situation. For, he might not have retained his official Employments, during a single Week. Perhaps it is to be regretted that he should have made such a Sacrifice of private Interest, to Glory: but it operated throughout his whole Life, and even beyond the Grave, by its Effect on Parliament and on the Nation. Antiquity cannot exhibit any more shining Instance of Disinterestedness, either drawn from Theban and Athenian Story, or from the Con-

sular Ages of Rome. Juvenal's Observation on human Nature,

> " Quis enim Virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
> " Præmia si tollas?"

did not seem to apply to Pitt. Possibly, however, on a deep Estimate, he found even his pecuniary Recompense in this noble Act of Renunciation. The House of Commons would hardly have bestowed the posthumous Marks of solid Admiration and Respect, which they voted in 1806, on any Minister who had enjoyed during two and twenty Years, a sinecure Place of three Thousand Pounds per Annum, in Addition to his official Emoluments.

The Salaries and other Advantages annexed to the Place of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, even though unaided by any private Fortune, yet undoubtedly with prudent Management, might have been found adequate to Pitt's annual Expenditure. But, when unsupported by Economy, they proved wholly insufficient for the Purpose. When he was appointed First Minister, his youngest Sis-

ter, Lady Harriet Pitt, resided with him, and superintended his Establishment in Downing Street. She possessed, in Addition to other eminent intellectual Endowments, that Quality which her Father and Brother wanted; and so long as she personally controlled his domestic Affairs, I have been assured that they were restrained within very reasonable Limits. Unfortunately for him, in September, 1785, within two Years after he came into Power, Lady Harriet gave her Hand to Mr. Elliot, who became Lord Elliot on his Father's Demise; and subsequent to her Marriage, Pitt's pecuniary Concerns fell into the utmost Disorder. Debts accumulated; and it was commonly asserted, that the Collectors of the Taxes found more Difficulty in levying them from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, than from almost any other Inhabitant of Westminster. Even Tradesmen's Bills, particularly those of Coachmakers, were said to be frequently paid, not in Money, but, by ordering new Articles, and thus augmenting the Pressure of the Evil itself.

It was not till 1792, on the Earl of Guildford's Decease, (better known to us as Lord

North,) that Mr. Dundas having learnt the Intelligence, and knowing his Friend's Disinterestedness, hurried to St. James's, went into the Closet, and asked of His Majesty, the Place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, for Pitt; which Office the King immediately conferred on him, though it had been previously intended by the Sovereign, as I know, for the late Duke of Dorset. Such was the Superiority of the first Minister's Mind, to every Object of personal Emolument or Acquisition, that he disdained to ask any individual Reward, even from the Prince whom he had so long and so efficaciously served. For my Knowledge of this curious and interesting Fact, I am indebted to the Right Honorable William Dundas, Nephew to the late Lord Melville, whose Authority on such a Point, I presume, is superior to all Contradiction. The Salary, which in Mr. Pitt's Person was rendered nominally Three Thousand, five hundred Pounds a Year, might have formed a very handsome Addition to his official Income: but, the necessary Deductions of many Kinds, to be made from that Sum; the Expences which he incurred in altering or embellishing Walmer Castle; and more than both these Sources

of Expenditure, his Facility or Liberality in granting small Pensions to invalided or aged Artificers, of various Descriptions, belonging to the Cinque Ports;—so many combined Causes reduced the real Receipt below half its ostensible Amount. Yet when he went out of Office in 1801, loaded with Debts, he possessed no other independent Means of Subsistence. It is indeed true, that as early as 1790, he had been elected Master of the Trinity House; but I have always considered that Appointment, though highly honorable, as unproductive of any pecuniary Emolument. When we reflect on the Circumstances here enumerated, we may regret, but we cannot wonder, that after holding the Reins of Government, almost his whole Life; and conferring so many Dignities, as well as Offices, during a Period, taken altogether, of near nineteen Years; he should ultimately die not only poor, but, oppressed under a Burthen of Debt. Yet must we distinguish between a Sort of virtuous, or at least, venial Poverty, if I may so express myself, caused by Want of Economy, in a Man who devoted his Exertions to the public Service; and Fox's similar Wants, produced by a Rage for Play, which not

only reduced him from Affluence, to a State of Dereliction, but, finally compelled him to accept an eleemosynary Contribution, from his political and personal Friends, in Order to furnish him with the Means of Subsistence. It is unnecessary to contrast the two Positions or Characters, which undoubtedly excite in our Minds very opposite Sensations, and awaken widely different Degrees of moral Censure or Disapprobation.

Pitt's great Superiority over his Antagonist, and his consequent ministerial Success, flowed principally from two Causes. The first was, his admirable Judgment. That Intelligence restrained his parliamentary Exertions during the American War, and induced him, while heaping Accusations on the Ministers, to spare the King. I know that he received a Hint, soon after he began to speak in the House of Commons, warning him to avoid that Rock on which Fox had split, and to be cautious how he mentioned, or alluded with Severity, to the Royal Name. He did not despise the Advice. The same superior Intelligence impelled him, when Lord North was driven from Power, to refuse Office under an Administration, which, he foresaw, from its component Materials,

could only be of short Duration. It dictated to him, to take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under Lord Shelburne; but, it equally suggested to him, the Impracticability of retaining the Situation of First Minister, when pressed by his Majesty in March, 1783, to assume that high Office, after the Earl of Shelburne's Resignation. In renouncing a Situation so flattering to his Pride and his Ambition, though it lay completely within his Grasp, he exhibited, when not twenty-four, the deepest and calmest Discernment: for, if he had yielded to his own Inclinations and the Wishes of the Sovereign, it seems certain that he could not have maintained himself in Power against Fox and Lord North; who had not then committed any other Act calculated to excite the public Condemnation, except the mere Approximation of their respective Parliamentary Adherents, followed by their own political Union.

Pitt, with consummate Judgment, waited till the *Coalition* had brought forward the "East India Bill," and could no longer recede, in Order to profit of their Indiscretion. He accepted in December, the two Employments, which, nine Months ear-

lier, he had wisely declined; exhibiting, on both Occasions, equal Ability: but he never associated Lord Shelburne to his Power, nor allowed him a Place in the Cabinet. His whole Conduct, while struggling against Fox's Majority in the House of Commons, during successive Months, which I witnessed; formed the Triumph of paramount Capacity over imprudent Ambition and rapacious Precipitation. If we were to pursue the Comparison lower down in Pitt's Life, we should trace the same Effects resulting from similar Causes, during the critical Conflict which took Place between him and Fox, in the Winter of 1788; when the latter, instead of advising the Heir Apparent to accept the Regency under any Conditions, however apparently severe, on which Parliament might think proper to confer it during the uncertain Nature of the King's Malady, laid Claim to it for His Royal Highness, as a Matter of Right. The Minister instantly perceived, and fastened, like an Eagle, on his Adversary's Error; which, by producing Delay, happily allowed Time for his Majesty's Recovery, and of Course perpetuated the Duration of Pitt's Power. But, this Part

of his ministerial Conduct, belongs to another Period of the "Memoirs of my own "Time."

The second Point that gave him an Ascendant over Fox, arose from the Correctness of his Deportment, and Regularity of his private Life. This Circumstance, which, under Charles the Second, would have counted for little in the Scale, operated with decisive Effect in his Favour, under a Prince such as George the Third. Nor did it produce less beneficial Results among the People at large. Some internal Guarantee, drawn from moral Character, high Integrity, and indisputable Rectitude of Intention, seemed indeed necessary, in order to justify to the Nation, the Choice of the Sovereign, when entrusting to a young Man, destitute of Property, the Finances and Concerns of an Empire, reduced by a long and disastrous War, to a State of great Depression. Pitt possessed in Fact no other Stake to deposit, as a Security for his good Conduct, unless we take into our Calculation, his possible Reversion of the Earldom of Chatham. He had likewise to contend, like Epaminondas in Antiquity, with another Deficiency. During

the whole Course of the eighteenth Century, and I believe I may say, since the Accession of Elizabeth, he is the only English First Minister who lived and died in a State of Celibacy. He was not therefore attached to the Commonwealth by those endearing Ties, which blend the Statesman with the Husband and the Father; thus giving a Species of compound Pledge for exemplary Conduct, to the Country. Henry Pelham, who presided over the Councils of Great Britain during ten Years, under George the Second, was, it is true, like Pitt, only a younger Son of a noble House; but, his Brother, the Duke of Newcastle, might be justly considered as one of the greatest Subjects in Fortune, as well as in Rank, to be found within the Kingdom. Mr. Pelham, who married a Daughter of the Duke of Rutland, had likewise by her a numerous Family, and possessed in his own Person, considerable landed Property.

Even Fox, though he remained long unmarried, yet finally entered into that State; and he aspired to have done it much earlier in Life, if his Efforts for the Purpose had not proved unsuccessful. During the early

Part of Hastings's Trial, in 1787, he raised his Eyes and Hopes to the Duke of Newcastle's Box in Westminster Hall, where usually sat Miss Pulteney, afterwards created by Pitt, Countess of Bath in her own Right; then justly esteemed one of the richest Heiresses in the Kingdom. After exhibiting his great Powers of Oratory, as a public Man, in the Manager's Box below, he sometimes ascended in his private Capacity, to try the Effect of his Eloquence under the Character of a Lover. All his Friends aided a Cause, which, by rendering their Chief independent in his Fortune, would have healed the pecuniary Wounds inflicted by his early Indiscretion. General Fitzpatrick, with friendly Solicitude, usually kept a Place for him, near the Lady; and for some Time, the Courtship assumed so auspicious an Appearance, that I remember, *Hare*, when speculating on the probable Issue of the Marriage, said, with admirable Humour, that "they would inevitably be Duns, with "Black Manes and Tails:" alluding to the Lady's fair Complexion and Red Hair, contrasted with Fox's dark Hue. The Affair nevertheless terminated, from whatever Cause, without Success. Pitt, though, at different

Periods of his Life, he distinguished certain Ladies, some of whom I could name, by Marks of great Predilection; and in one Instance seemed even to meditate Marriage, yet never persisted in the Attempt: but, his Name, Descent, Abilities, and private Character, surmounted every Impediment to his Elevation. Fox could no more have been placed at the Head of the Treasury, than Dean Swift could have been made Archbishop of Canterbury; or than Lord Bolingbroke, under Queen Anne, or the Duke of Wharton, under George the First, could have filled the Office of First Minister. He wanted, like them, an essential Quality. I will not say, high moral Character;—for, I believe, his Honour, Integrity, and Probity, were above all Impeachment or Reproach; but, correct moral Deportment. Of this Deficiency he was, himself, sensible, and was said to have once expressed his Conviction of it, in laconic, but, forcible Terms. I resume the Progress of Events.

While Pitt unquestionably anticipated the probable Necessity for his ultimately recurring to the Measure of calling together a new House of Commons; he by no Means

disdained to avail himself of all the Means and Modes that could be suggested, for diminishing, and if possible, annihilating the Majority, to which Fox owed his actual Consequence. Every Effort was exerted by himself, and by his Friends, in order to accomplish that Point. The Recess, limited to little more than a Fortnight, allowed him only a very short Space for Exertion; and the Numbers which had hitherto supported the *Coalition*, during the Progress of the "East India Bill" through the House, in every Stage, generally amounted to double, or almost double the Votes on the opposite Side. Two hundred and seventeen Members had voted for its Commitment; a great Proportion in an Assembly, then composed only of five hundred and fifty-eight Persons. To reduce such a Superiority, first to something approaching an Equality, and finally to a Minority, might well seem a hopeless Undertaking; even admitting all the Venality, Want of Principle, or Tergiversation, with which that Assembly has been so often reproached. Much more Success was, however, expected from Applications addressed to the Part of the *Coalition* which might be considered as holding to Lord North; than

from the Adherents of the Rockingham Party, or among the personal Supporters and Friends of Fox. Many of Lord North's political Connexions, who had in Fact voted with him on the India Bill, under a Conviction of the Measure itself having obtained the Consent of the Crown; were naturally disposed to withdraw their Support, if not to transfer their Services, on the Discovery of their Mistake. There existed only three Ways by which Fox's Majority might be reduced. In Consequence of the Attendance of new Members, who had not hitherto taken any Part. By the future Non-attendance of those, who had supported the *Coalition* up to the present Time; and lastly, by Desertion from the Enemy's Ranks, over to those of the new Administration. The latter Votes, as counting double, of Course became most sought after and valued.

A Separation had, indeed, already taken Place among Lord North's immediate personal Followers. Of the two former Secretaries of the Treasury, Sir Grey Cooper continued to support him invariably: but, Robinson, conceiving himself absolved from any Obligation to accompany his antient Prin-

cipal, through all the Consequences of his new political Alliances, quitted altogether that Party. No Man in the House of Commons, as I have had Occasion to remark, knew so much of its original Composition; the Means by which every Individual attained his Seat; and in many Instances, how far, and through what Channels, he might prove accessible. Though Mr. Pitt made the fifth First Minister, whom that Parliament had beheld in the short Space of little more than twenty-one Months; yet the individual Members composing the lower House, had undergone only a very trifling Variation since the general Election. Recourse was therefore had to Robinson, under the present delicate and arduous Circumstances of public Affairs, in Order to obtain his active Exertions for Government. He complied with the Application, and unquestionably rendered very essential Service. I have always considered the *Earldom* of Abergavenny, as the Remuneration given by the Crown, for that Assistance, though I by no means assert it as a Fact. Robinson's only Daughter and Child had been married some Years before, to the Honorable Henry Neville, eldest Son of Lord

Abergavenny; who was placed at the Head of the List of *Earls*, created by Pitt, on the 11th of May, 1784, not five Months after the Facts took Place, under our Discussion.

While I am engaged on the Subject of the House of Commons, and of the Influence or Corruption by which it has been always managed, particularly during the last, and a Part of the present Reign; I shall relate some curious Particulars, which cannot perhaps be introduced with more Propriety than in this Place. We may see in the "Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy," (which Work, though composed under its present Form, by the late Prince de Ligne, with whom I was well acquainted at Vienna, is founded on original Papers or Documents;) what Influence he attributes to the "Presents of "Champagne and Burgundy," made by Marshal Tallard, then a Prisoner of War in England, to "Right Honorable Members "of Parliament." Nay, the Prince asserts positively, that in the same Year, 1711, when he came over in Person to London, with the avowed Object of retaining, if possible, Queen Anne and her Ministers, in the Grand Alliance against France; he had Recourse, him-

self, to Corruption. "*Je fis des Présens*," says he, "*car, on peut acheter beaucoup en "Angleterre.*" If such constituted the ordinary Practice under the last Princess of the Stuart Line, at a Time that Parliaments were not septennial, but, only *triennial;* we may be quite assured, that they did not become more virtuous after the Accession of the reigning Family, when the House of Commons was elected for seven Years.

Proofs of the Venality practised by Sir Robert Walpole, during the whole Course of his long Administration, it seems unnecessary to produce, as that Minister did not disclaim or resent the Imputation. Nor did his political Adversaries disdain, whatever Professions of public Virtue they might make, to have Recourse to the same unworthy Expedients, in order to effect his Removal. We have the Authority of a Member of their own Body, for the Fact. "*Don Carlos*," (Frederick, Prince of Wales,) says Mr. Glover in his "Memoirs," recently published, "told me, that it cost him Twelve "Thousand Pounds in Corruption, particu- "larly among the Tories, to carry the West- "minster and Chippenham Elections; in

" 1742, and other Points, which compelled " Lord Orford, at that Time Sir Robert " Walpole, to quit the House of Commons." It is difficult to adduce more satisfactory and unimpeachable Proof of any Fact, as Glover was a Man of strict Veracity. Neither was Mr. Pelham, who, after a short Interval succeeded Sir Robert, and held his Situation near eleven Years; though he may be justly esteemed one of the most upright Statesmen who presided in the Councils of George the Second; less liable to the Accusation of corrupting Parliament, than was his Predecessor.

A Friend of mine, a Man of Rank and high Character, whom I do not name, because, being still alive, I consider myself not at Liberty to divulge it; but, whose Name would at once stamp the Veracity and Authenticity of whatever he relates; has frequently assured me, that about the Year 1767, he was personally acquainted with *Roberts*, who had been Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Pelham; but, who was then old, infirm, and near his End. He lies buried in Westminster Abbey, in *Poet's Corner*, where his Epitaph describes him, as

" the most faithful Secretary of the Right " Honorable Henry Pelham." This Gentleman conversing with *Roberts*, upon the Events of those Times when he held a Place under Administration, and particularly on the Manner in which the House of Commons was then managed; *Roberts* avowed without Reserve, that while he remained at the Treasury, there were a Number of Members who regularly received from him their Payment or Stipend, at the End of every Session, in Bank Notes. The Sums, which varied according to the Merits, Ability, and Attendance of the respective Individuals, amounted usually from Five Hundred Pounds, to Eight Hundred Pounds, *per Annum*. " This Largess I distributed," added *Roberts*, " in the Court of Requests, " on the Day of the Prorogation of Parlia- " ment. I took my Stand there; and as " the Gentlemen passed me, in going to, or " returning from the House, I conveyed the " Money, in a Squeeze of the Hand. What- " ever Person received the Ministerial Bounty " in the Manner thus related, I entered his " Name in a Book, which was preserved in " the deepest Secrecy; it being never in- " spected by any human Being, except the

" King and Mr. Pelham. On the Decease of
" that Minister in 1754, his Brother, the Duke
" of Newcastle, Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord
" Holland, and others of the Cabinet, who
" succeeded to Power; anxious to obtain an
" accurate Knowledge of the *private* State of
" the House of Commons, and particularly
" to ascertain the Names of all the Indi-
" viduals who received Money during Mr.
" Pelham's Life, applied to me for Informa-
" tion. They further demanded of me to
" surrender the Book, in which, as they
" knew, I was accustomed to enter the above
" Particulars. Conceiving a Compliance to
" be dishonourable, I peremptorily refused
" to deliver it up, except by the King's ex-
" press Command, and to His Majesty in
" Person. In Consequence of my Refusal,
" they acquainted the King with the Circum-
" stance, who sent for me to St. James's,
" where I was introduced into the Closet;
" more than one of the above-mentioned Mi-
" nisters being present. George the Second
" ordered me to return him the Book in
" question, with which Injunction I imme-
" diately complied. At the same Time
" taking the Poker in his Hand, he put it
" into the Fire, made it red hot, and then,

"while we stood round him, he thrust the "Book into the Flames, where it was imme- "diately reduced to Ashes. He considered "it in Fact, as too sacred and confidential a "Register, to be thus transferred over to "the new Ministers, and as having become "extinct with the Administration of Mr. "Pelham."

It is unquestionable that the Duke of Newcastle, though he failed in getting Possession of his Brother's secret Information, in consequence of *Roberts*'s Firmness; yet pursued the same Mode of Management, on becoming, himself, first Lord of the Treasury. Under Lord Bute"s Government, when, from a Variety of Causes, a violent Opposition in Parliament arose, which required the whole Power of Ministry to stem, similar Practices were carried to a greater Length. John Ross Mackay, who had been private Secretary to the Earl of Bute, and afterwards, during seventeen Years, was Treasurer of the Ordnance; a Man with whom I was personally acquainted; frequently avowed the Fact. He lived to a very advanced Age, sat in several Parliaments, and only died, I believe, in 1796. A Gentleman of high

professional Rank, and of unimpeached Veracity, who is still alive, told me, that dining at the late Earl of Besborough's, in Cavendish Square, in the Year 1790, where only four Persons were present, including himself; Ross Mackay, who was one of the Number, gave them the most ample Information upon this Subject. Lord Besborough having called, after Dinner, for a Bottle of excellent Champagne, a Wine to which Mackay was partial; and the Conversation accidentally turning on the Means of governing the House of Commons, Mackay said that "Money formed, after all, the only effectual and certain "Method." "The Peace of 1763," continued he, "was carried through and approved "by a pecuniary Distribution. Nothing else "could have surmounted the Difficulty. I "was, myself, the Channel through which "the Money passed. With my own Hand "I secured above one Hundred and Twenty "Votes, on that most important Question "to Ministers. Eighty Thousand Pounds "were set apart for the Purpose. Forty "Members of the House of Commons re"ceived from me, a Thousand Pounds each. "To eighty others, I paid five Hundred "Pounds apiece." Mackay afterwards con-

firmed more than once, this Fact, to the Gentleman above mentioned, who related it to me. He added that Lord Besborough appeared, himself, so sensible of the Imprudence, as well as Impropriety of the Avowal made by Mackay, at his Table; that his Lordship sent to him, and to the fourth Person who had been present on the Occasion, (the late Reverend Mr. Dutens,) next Morning, to entreat of them, on no Account to divulge it during Mackay's Life. What Attestation so strong of the Truth of this Anecdote can be produced, as the Testimony of the late Bishop of Llandaff! He expressly informs us, in the "Anecdotes" of his Life, just published, that the Earl of Shelburne, then first Minister, assured him on the 17th of February, 1783, that "he," Lord Shelburne, "well knew, above sixty "Thousand Pounds had been expended," "(among the Members of the House of Com-" mons,) in procuring an Approbation of "the Peace of 1763."

Wilkes was however perfectly well instructed on the Subject, and made no Secret of his Information, even at the Time when the Treaty of Fontainbleau was a recent

Transaction. In his memorable Letter addressed from "Paris, 22d October, 1764," to the Electors of Aylesbury, he says, "I "will not compliment the present profligate "Majority in the House of Commons, so far "as to say, they were so well informed, that "they knew the exact Truth of *every* Assertion in the 'North Briton,' No. 45. *One* "Particular, however, came within their "Knowledge; the Means by which it is "hinted that the *entire Approbation of Parliament*, even of the *Preliminary Articles* "of the late inglorious Peace, was obtained; "and the previous Step to the obtaining "that *entire Approbation*, the large Debt "contracted on the *Civil List*." They knew "this Assertion was extremely *true*, and "I am as ready to own that it was extremely "*scandalous*." It is impossible to convey a Charge of such a Nature, in less equivocal or ambiguous Language.

Relative to the three successive Administrations, after Lord Bute's Secession from Power; namely, that of George Grenville, of the Marquis of Rockingham, and of the Duke of Grafton, which comprized the whole Period of Time between April, 1763,

and January, 1770, I can state nothing from my own personal Knowledge. Bradshaw conducted that Department, as is well known, under the Duke of Grafton. The same System certainly continued to be acted on during the Period of the American War, when Robinson, and under him, Brummell, were its Agents. I remember, Mr. Whitbread, with whom I was well acquainted, one of the most upright, honest, and benevolent Men who ever sate in Parliament, at that time Member for Bedford; rising in his Place, on the 19th of March, 1782, stated to the House, that during Lord North's Administration, many Millions had been lost to the Nation, by exorbitant Contracts, and wasteful Bargains. "Some of "the former," added he, "are so lucrative, "that even though Thousands of Pounds "might be given for them, yet they would "produce a large Profit. I do not charge "the noble Lord at the Head of the Treasury, with ever receiving one Penny of "such Money. I believe he never did: but, "*the Individuals who transacted those Matters at the Treasury, are well known.* Nor "is it any Secret, to whom the Contracts in "Question are given, by Favor or Pre-

"ference. That all the Business of the "Treasury, Admiralty, Navy, Victualling, "and Ordnance, is conducted on the same "corrupt Principles, is a Fact beyond Dis-"pute." Lord North was not present when Mr. Whitbread spoke; but, no Denial of these Allegations was made or attempted by any of his Friends.

Burke on the following Day;—a Day memorable in the Reign of George the Third, as on it Lord North laid down his Power;—observed in the metaphorical and elevated Style familiar to him, "We have witnessed, "Mr. Speaker, for numerous Years, the Sys-"tem of Corruption advancing. We have "beheld it with Melancholy and Depression. "For, from the prodigious Power of that Cor-"ruption, from the Towers and Battlements "with which it was fortified, we nourished "no Hopes of being able to overthrow it. "We remained therefore, from our Dejec-"tion, inactive. Despair rendered us sub-"missive. This Torpor gave to the Enemy "additional Force. It even gave them an "Appearance of Stability, by which delu-"sive Advantage, weak Men were seduced "to join them, and wicked Men became

"confirmed in their Adherence." Such was the Language held at that Time, within the Walls of the House of Commons. I incline nevertheless strongly to doubt whether, towards the Termination of Lord North's Ministry, these Practices subsisted in all their Force; by which I mean to say, that I question whether any individual Member of the House, was paid for his Vote and Support in Bank Notes; as it would appear had been done under Walpole, Pelham, and most, if not all their Successors, down to that Time. More Refinement had insensibly been introduced into the Distribution of pecuniary Gratifications; which were conveyed in oblique Shapes, such as Lottery Tickets, Scrip, Jobs, Contracts, and other beneficial Forms, by which the Majority was kept together, for near seven Years, in Defiance of a most unfortunate, if not an ill conducted War.

Sawbridge, who without the Learning or the Talents of Algernon Sydney, possessed as republican a Spirit as that illustrious and unfortunate Individual, put a Case hypothetically, in the Course of one of his Speeches, which the House perfectly understood. I

was present on the Occasion, which happened in March, 1781, under Lord North's Administration, during the Discussion of the Loan negotiated in that Session. Sawbridge's Words were nearly these: "Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, it may chance at some "future Period,—for, the Age is too virtuous to admit its Possibility in these "Days;—that a Member of Parliament "may retire behind the Speaker's Chair, "with the first Lord of the Treasury, and "engage to support him on all Questions, "provided he (the Member,) shall be allowed "to subscribe for ten Thousand Pounds of "the present Loan." Lord North, when Sawbridge sat down, instantly rose, in Order to answer and to deny, or to refute other Passages of his Speech: but, to the Allusion above cited, he made no Reply, nor attempted to rebutt such an Imputation; probably because he knew that Sawbridge, if contradicted, could name his Man. Neither was he called to Order for it. Indeed, Fox, Burke, George Byng, and others of the Opposition of that Period, made no Scruple of advancing similar Charges, without Circumlocution or Delicacy. Sir George Savile, on the 12th of June, in the same Year, 1781, exceeded in Severity, or rather in Asperity,

anything that I witnessed; and he did it with perfect Impunity. After branding the Loan recently negotiated, with the Epithets of venal, corrupt, and disgraceful, he added, that "such a Measure constituted an Act of "*Plunder and Robbery* committed on the "Nation, in Order to *bribe with the Spoil* "those Members of the House, who per- "sisted in a *Conspiracy* for the Destruction "of their Country. The Minister might "just as well say in plain Terms to his Fol- "lowers, I know that you disapprove this "ruinous and accursed War with America: "but, as it is indispensable to prosecute it, "for the Preservation of my Employment, "provided you consent to raise thirteen "Millions on your Constituents, I will allow "you to share one Million of the Money "among yourselves, who are my *Accom-* "*plices*." Not a Word was said from the Treasury Bench, nor any Indignation expressed at so unqualified an Accusation.

Fox observed no Measures, when declaiming against the asserted Corruption of Parliament. "The Minister," exclaimed he, "well "aware, that he must die with the present "War, has encountered Shame and em- "braced it, in Order to produce its Con-

"tinuance. His Supporters well know "that *their Payment, like his own Bread,* "depends on its Prosecution. The War "begets Extraordinaries, which beget Loans, "which beget Douceurs, which beget Mem- "bers of this House." Such was the Language of Opposition in 1781. I heard Fox pronounce those Words above cited. In thus endeavouring to vilify and degrade the first Minister, he only looked to the immediate Object of overturning the Administration; inconscious within how short a Time he should be induced to form a *Coalition* with the very Nobleman, whom he had denounced for successive Years, as the Destroyer of his native Country. In February, 1782, Burke, pleading the Cause of Hohen, the Jew, who had suffered in his Property, at the Capture of St. Eustatius; Jenkinson, Secretary at War, demanded, "what was "the specific Object that he had in View? "Did he mean to move for a Grant of public "Money to the Petitioner?" If so, he entreated Burke to reflect on the Consequences to which such a Precedent would lead. "Oh!" answered he, "Ministers may easily "make Compensation to Mr. Hohen, with- "out putting their Hand in the public Purse.

" *They may give him a Slice of the Loan;*
" for, those Profits are not esteemed public
" Money; or, *they may place him en Croupe*
" *of some overgrown Contractor.*"

One of the most humiliating Scenes that I ever witnessed, as affecting Lord North in his ministerial Capacity, and which occasioned him the greatest Embarrassment, took Place just at the Time when Burke made these severe Animadversions. A Contract of a most improvident Nature, had been concluded with a Member of the House, an East India Director, one of the two Representatives for a Somersetshire Borough, by the Board of Ordnance. The Article furnished, was Saltpetre, for which a very exorbitant Price was given to the Contractor. George Byng, aided by Hussey, and by Colonel Barré, with most meritorious and indefatigable Pertinacity, traced, developed, and exposed the whole Transaction. Lord Townshend, then Master General of the Ordnance, disavowed any Knowledge whatever of it, by the Mouth of his Friend Courtenay, and reprobated the Business. Under these distressing Circumstances, the first Minister had no other Refuge or Means of Extrica-

tion, than to protest his total Ignorance of the Contract, the Terms of which he admitted to be enormous; and he therefore proposed to omit the Article of Saltpetre, amounting to near £150,000, if the House would vote the remaining Articles of the Ordnance Estimates. Fox launched out on the Occasion, into severe, as well as indignant Comments, on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Conduct. No Reply was made by Lord North, and on the Question being put for receiving the Report, Ministers carried it only by a Majority of *Thirty;* the respective Numbers being 122, and 92.

Lord North, when First Minister, was supposed to command full one hundred and seventy Members at his absolute Devotion, who were prepared to vote with him upon every Question; nor would his Head, indeed, have been secure, from 1777 down to 1782, unless he could have counted upon such a steady and numerous Support, at a Time when every Month teemed with Misfortunes or Defeats. Of this great Body, only a comparatively small Portion had however continued to adhere to him, after he joined with Fox; and many more had

quitted him on the first Introduction of the "India Bill," or subsequent to its Rejection. Still, even in the last Days of December, 1783, when dismissed from Employment, he remained the nominal Head of a considerable Party; upon many Individuals composing which, it was natural to suppose that an Impression might be made, by Representations addressed to their Principles, their Passions, or their Interests. Nor can Mr. Pitt, standing as he did, in the critical, as well as hazardous Predicament, of having accepted the first Offices of Government, unsupported in one House of Parliament; be blamed for availing himself of every fair or honorable Means, to diminish the Majority possessed by his Adversaries. I am at the same Time persuaded, from the Elevation of his Mind, and the Purity of his Principles, that he was incapable of authorizing, no less than Robinson would have disdained to practise, any other Methods of procuring Adherents, than such as the British Constitution either recognizes, or which are in Fact inseparable from its practical Existence.

Among the Persons of Eminence to whom Mr. Pitt had Recourse for Support, at this

delicate Crisis of his Ministerial Life, when every Parliamentary Aid which could sustain him against the *Coalition*, was anxiously sought after, the late Lord Sackville attracted his Attention. That Nobleman had hitherto taken no decided Part in the Debates, during the Progress of the "East India Bill;" though he voted against it personally in both the Divisions which took Place on the 15th and 17th of December, in the House of Peers. He had, indeed, early considered it to be a Measure which would excite great Fermentation throughout the Country, as well as Opposition on the Part of the Crown, when its political Consequences came to be well appreciated and understood. He even repeatedly predicted, that it would probably overturn the Ministry of Lord North and Fox. Impressed with these Sentiments, he exhorted his Nephew, the Duke of Dorset, who arrived in London from Paris, soon after the Session opened; to be cautious how he engaged himself too far in supporting it, till he had ascertained and sounded the Ground. The Duke profited of the Advice. Lord Sackville, besides his own Vote, and his Brother-in-law Lord Milton's Proxy, of which, from his Influence over that Noble-

man's Mind, he might be said to dispose, in the same House of Parliament; brought in gratuitously two Members at East Grinstead;—for, he had a Mind too noble ever to *sell* either of the Seats;—thus commanding or influencing four Votes, in addition to his own personal Weight and Connexions.

I cannot pass over Lord Milton, who was afterwards created Earl of Dorchester, without saying a few Words respecting himself and his Family. He descended collaterally, if not directly, from Damer, the famous Miser, whom Swift has commemorated; and Lord Milton had attained a very advanced Period of Life, at the Time of which I now speak. Neither his Person, nor his Manners, were attractive; but, though difficult of Access, reserved, and repulsive in his Exterior, he possessed solid intellectual Parts; and no Man of his high Rank in the Kingdom, entertained with greater Magnificence. In his Youth, the Duel which he fought with Earl Paulet, had rendered him scarcely less distinguished, than Lord Byron became in consequence of his fatal Encounter with Mr. Chaworth; and neither the one, nor the other, remained exempt from Reflections on

the Circumstances supposed to have respectively taken place. If Lord Byron was tried by his Peers, Lord Milton underwent scarcely a milder Inquest, from the Prejudices imbibed respecting the Transaction. At his Seat of Milton Abbey in Dorsetshire, where he maintained a gloomy and sequestered Splendor, analogous to his Character and Habits, he had made immense landed Purchases; which exhausting his pecuniary Means, extensive as they were, reduced him to a Species of temporary Distress, and realized Horace's

"Magnas inter Opes inops."

His Palace in Town, contiguous to Hyde Park, from the secluded Life which Lord Milton led, and the very limited Number of Persons who ever entered within its Gates, obtained the Denomination of "Milton's Paradise lost." His very Appearance conveyed indeed an Idea of "dry and bald "Antiquity," Misanthropy, and Inaccessibility: but, when he occasionally unbent himself in select Society, his Conversation was interesting, often witty, and sometimes cheerful. Of his three Sons, I had the Honor to know only the second, who succeeded

his Father as Earl of Dorchester, and was one of the most engaging, lively, but, eccentric Noblemen of his Time. It is difficult to convey an Idea of the Species of Humour that characterized him, which was truly original, and irresistibly comic: nor did he commonly impose any severe Restraints on its Indulgence. Lady Melbourne passing him, one very cold Day, in her Carriage, as he stood conversing with *Partington*, an eminent Solicitor, at the Corner of Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, she bowed to him. Unwilling to take off his own Hat in the severe State of the Atmosphere, he instantly made free with that of *Partington*; who having his Back towards Lady Melbourne, was not a little surprized at finding himself thus made the involuntary Instrument of Mr. Damer's good Breeding. Having however performed this Act of Civility by Proxy, he coolly replaced *Partington*'s Hat on the Head of its Owner, with many Apologies for the Freedom. He survived his Father only a few Years, and dying unmarried, a Martyr to the Gout, the Title of Earl of Dorchester expired in his Person.

I resume the Thread of Public Affairs.

During the Christmas Recess, after the Adjournment of the two Houses, Lord Sackville went down to his Seat at Drayton. Mr. Pitt having applied to a Member of the House of Peers, requesting his Exertions to procure Lord Sackville's personal Attendance and Support in that Assembly, at a Moment of such Difficulty; he mentioned my Name to the Minister, as a Person capable, from the Friendship with which Lord Sackville honored me, of facilitating his Wishes on the Subject. The Nobleman in Question subsequently called on me, at a very late Hour of the Night, of the 29th of December, after I was in Bed, and acquainted me with the above-mentioned Circumstances. Impelled by the Wish of serving Mr. Pitt, and supporting His Majesty's Government, I waited on him, next Morning, at his Brother Lord Chatham's House in Berkeley Square, where he then resided; and at his Desire undertook the Service. But, I candidly informed him at the same Time, that, from my Knowledge of Lord Sackville's political Sentiments, and for the obvious Reasons which must render Lord Howe, as well as the Marquis of Carmarthen, who were both Members of the new

Administration, personally distasteful to him; I doubted his Compliance, unless the Solicitations were sustained from various Quarters. And I exhorted him, not only to write, himself, to Lord Sackville, but, to procure similar Applications from his three personal Friends in the Cabinet; the Chancellor, the Lord President, and Lord Sydney. Mr. Pitt readily adopted the Suggestion. I then assured him that I would set off on the following Day; it being previously settled, that the Messenger, who was to be charged with the ministerial Letters for Drayton, should not pass me on the Road, but allow me to arrive before him at my Destination.

On the ensuing Morning, being the 31st of December, I left London very early, in order to have Time for conversing with the Duke of Dorset, in my Way to Lord Sackville. The Duke was then on a Visit at Lord Salisbury's, at Hatfield. I acquainted him with the Object of my Journey, in the Success of which he co-operated with all his Exertions. It was past Ten at Night when I reached Drayton, in most inclement Weather. Lord Sackville, whom I found engaged at Chess with his youngest Daughter,

expressed some Surprize at my first Entrance into the Apartment. But, his natural Penetration soon led him to conceive, that my Visit at such a Season, must have originated in a deeper Motive than Friendship or Amusement. As soon as we were alone, I therefore told him the Cause of my unexpected Arrival, and related every Circumstance that had taken Place, except the Advice which I had ventured to offer Mr. Pitt, respecting Applications from his Friends in the Cabinet. Next Day, the Messenger brought the Dispatches; and Lord Sackville, after perusing them, returned the Answer which I had foreseen; namely, that "though he neither desired, nor would accept any Office under Ministry, nor ask any Favour from the new Administration, either for himself, or for his Connexions; yet, that his Principles, and the dutiful Submission that he felt towards His Majesty, would impel him to give every Support to the Government, in the present arduous Crisis of public Affairs." He punctually performed this Promise, evincing himself a steady Friend to the Ministry, during the whole future Progress of the

eventful Contest then carrying on in Parliament.

[1784.—1st—10th January.] It was not, however, by individual Applications of any Kind, nor even by private Exertions and Assistance, however successful they might be, nor even by the personal Interference of the Sovereign himself, that Mr. Pitt could have been maintained in Office. The Public, and the Public only, enabled him to defeat the powerful Phalanx drawn up against him. During the two first Weeks of December, while the Fate of the "India "Bill" remained still doubtful, the Committee of Proprietors, which sat unintermittingly in Leadenhall Street, sounded the Alarm from one End of the Kingdom, to the other Extremity. A Member of that Committee, who took an active Part in their Deliberations, assured me, that in the circular Letters which they addressed to almost every Town, or Corporate Body throughout Great Britain; they contented themselves with saying in few Words, "Our "Property and Charter are forcibly invaded: "Look to your own!" This laconic Invocation bore some Analogy to one of the Pu-

ritanical Appeals made under Charles the First, to the English People, when, in the Language of Scripture, their Leaders exclaimed, "To your Tents, O, Israel!" A Copy of Fox's *Bill*, enclosed, which served as the best Commentary on the Text, soon produced a corresponding and general Effect. Ridicule and Satire joined their Aid to expose the *Coalition* to Laughter or Contempt. Two Prints in particular, both conceived with admirable Humour, were circulated throughout the Metropolis. In one, Fox, under the Character of a "Political "Sampson," appeared carrying away on his Shoulders the India House, that he had pulled down; out of the Windows of which Edifice, the terrified Directors were endeavouring to effect their Escape. The other Print, denominated "The triumphal Entry "of Carlo Khan into Delhi," displayed the Secretary of State, habited in the Costume of a Mogul Emperor, seated on an Elephant, whose Countenance bore a most striking Resemblance to Lord North; and preceded by Burke, as his Trumpeter. It is difficult to conceive the moral Operation, and wide Diffusion, of these Caricatures, through every Part of the Country.

Towards the Commencement of the new Year, the First Minister exhibited, (perhaps not without profound Design,) a Proof of Power, which his Predecessors had never been able to display during their Administration; by elevating his Relation and active Supporter, Mr. Thomas Pitt, to the Peerage. Burke, only a few Days afterwards, alluding to the Circumstance, in the Course of one of his Speeches, observed, "A Person "who was very recently a Member of this "Assembly, has just been,—not transport-"ed,—but, translated, to a Place of Rest; "the House of Peers; which Place, Lord "Chesterfield used sometimes to denominate "the Hospital of Incurables, or of Invalids. "—The Person whom I mean, is Lord Camel-"ford, who, like Elijah, has been rapt up into "the Heaven of Rest. To whom, he has "left his *Cloak*, it is not my Business to "enquire." Then having read several Passages from a Pamphlet, attributed to Mr. Thomas Pitt, in which Production, the constitutional Right of the House of Commons to advise the Sovereign, was strenuously maintained, and eloquently enforced; Burke added, "Perhaps, this Pamphlet may be "considered as his *Cloak*, which he has left,

"to his Disciple on the Treasury Bench." Pitt, who was present, did not condescend to notice such an Attack.

Before the Month of January elapsed, two other Individuals, namely, Mr. Carteret, Brother of Lord Weymouth; and Mr. Eliot, Member for Cornwall whose eldest Son married Lady Harriet Pitt, in the Course of the subsequent Year; were raised by him to the same Dignity. He probably meant to shew his Adherents, as well as his Opponents, in the House of Commons, the Facility with which he disposed of the Honours of the Crown, withheld by the Sovereign from the *Coalition*; and consequently, the Rewards which might attend their early repairing to the royal Standard. In order to counteract this Display of Ministerial Favor, and with a View to keep their Forces together, his Antagonists were said to have promised a long List of contingent British Peerages, exceeding thirty in Number, to their principal Friends in the lower House. The Names of these Gentlemen were in general Circulation; and the greater Part of them have since, at different Periods subsequent to the

French Revolution, received from Pitt the Boon, which they had failed to obtain from the Coalition Administration.

[12th January.] Whatever favorable Effect, the Peerage conferred by the Minister on Mr. Thomas Pitt, might produce within the Walls of the House of Commons; an Act which he performed soon afterwards, operated far more beneficially for him without Doors, on the Minds of the Public. Sir Edward Walpole's Death having vacated the lucrative Post of Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer; Pitt, instead of taking it for himself, or conferring it on his Brother Lord Chatham, as might not only have seemed natural and venial, but, as he was urged to do by his political Friends; immediately gave it to Colonel Barré, in order to extinguish the ample Pension enjoyed by that Gentleman ever since Lord Shelburne's Accession to Power. So unusual a Proof of Superiority to pecuniary Temptation, exhibited by a Man destitute of patrimonial Fortune; even though it might have originated in deep Policy, more than in Disinterestedness, as his Enemies asserted or insinu-

ated; yet attracted just Admiration, and extorted general Applause. Fox, nevertheless, while he admitted the abstract Merit of the Action itself, did not reprobate with less Severity, the Principles on which Pitt had acquired Possession of Office. Nor did he display with less Ostentation, on the Day when the House of Commons met, after its short Adjournment, the unlimited Command that he exercised over the Majority of that Assembly. Of this Empire he gave the most convincing Proof, by not only, in Parliamentary Language, taking Possession of the House when it re-assembled; but, by precluding the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Subversion of all Usage, from being heard, though charged with a Message from the King, till Fox had submitted and carried five Resolutions, in a Committee on the State of the Nation. Three of these, he moved, himself. The other two, he delegated to Lord Surrey, who was said to have been selected from among the numerous Candidates for Parliamentary Service, in Consequence of a classic Recommendation. It having been agitated at the Meeting of the Opposition, held on the preceding Evening, at Burlington House,

what Individual to choose for bringing forward two of the Resolutions next Day, in the House of Commons; and Opinions being divided on the Subject, Sheridan, when asked for his Sentiment, exclaimed with *Richard*,

"Saddle black *Surrey* for the Field to-morrow!"

Throughout the whole Debate which took Place on that Occasion, Fox appeared as the Arbiter of the Scene, propelling, restraining, and directing the Machine, according to his Volition; while the Minister, sustained only by the vast Powers of his Mind, and a Consciousness of possessing equally the royal and the popular Favor, struggled vainly against the Current. He was borne away, together with his Followers, by its Violence; after making an eloquent and masterly, but, ineffectual Appeal to the Candor of his Audience. Erskine, who performed a conspicuous Part during the Discussion of that memorable Night, was placed, if I may so express myself, by Fox, in the front Ranks. In the Course of a long Speech, he drew a Parallel, or rather, a Contrast, between the late Secretary of State, and the actual First Minister. The latter, he depictured as devoured by an

insatiable Thirst of Power, and throwing into Confusion the whole Frame of Government, in Order to attain the highest Offices of State, without passing through any subordinate Employments. "How different," continued he, "has been the Progress of my "Honorable Friend! *He* was not hatched "at once into a Minister, by the Heat of his "own Ambition. *He* passed through the "inferior Gradations, and matured his Ta-"lents, in long, as well as laborious Opposi-"tion; arriving by the natural Progress of "his powerful Mind, to a Superiority of "political Wisdom, universally felt and ac-"knowledged." The Parody which he drew from the fourth Scene of the third Act of "Hamlet," intended to display Pitt under two opposite Points of View; first, as a Patriot, when formerly united with Fox, and next, as the Creature of Secret Influence; did not however appear to produce on his Hearers, the same strong Impression, which the Citations from "Julius Cæsar," had done, when applied to Fox, by Scott, and by Arden. Powis, though he continued to speak of the late *East India Bill*, in Terms of the strongest Abhorrence, as a Measure, which, if it had not been frustrated, would

have inflicted a mortal Blow on our constitutional Frame; yet expressed his ardent Wish, that the State might not lose the Benefit of Lord John Cavendish's Integrity, and of Fox's resplendent Abilities. "It would "immortalize," he said, "the Individual "who could effect a Reconciliation, and "produce a Union, between the late Secre-"tary, and the present Chancellor of the Ex-"chequer." Widely different was the Language held by Mr. Pulteney, and by Governor Johnstone. Those two Brothers, acting to a certain Degree in Concert, extended an invaluable Assistance to the new Administration. The elder, Mr. Pulteney, who represented Shrewsbury; under a very forbiding Exterior, and a still more neglected, or almost thread-bare Dress, which he usually wore, concealed strong Sense, a masculine Understanding, and very independant, as well as upright Principles of Action. Nor did he want a Species of Eloquence, though it could boast of no Elegance or Ornament. Representing in Consequence of his Marriage, the Name and Family of *Pulteney*, so eminent under the Reign of George the Second; inhabiting the Mansion of the celebrated Earl of Bath, in Piccadilly; and Heir

matrimonial to that distinguished Nobleman's vast landed Property; Pulteney was always heard with Attention.

Fox, in a Speech of the most inflammatory and criminating Description, having rung the Changes upon Secret Influence, concealed Advisers, and all the Apparatus of the *Back Stairs*, by which he accused his Rival of having unconstitutionally ascended to Power; and having strenuously exhorted the House to adopt Measures without Delay, for preventing the Possibility of their own Dissolution, Pulteney rose. "The present Moment," observed he, "calls on every Man "to come forward, and I do not hesitate to "assert, that far from approving Resolutions "calculated to prolong the Duration of this "Assembly; I think, whenever it is suspected that the House of Commons does "not speak the Sentiments of the People, it "ought to be dissolved. That Suspicion is "strongly entertained at this Time, because "the House has passed a *Bill* which is reprobated by the Nation. I will even go "further, and maintain, that the more violent "are the Resolutions into which they enter,

" with a View to prevent their Dissolution,
" the more ought their political Extinction to
" be accelerated. Much Obloquy and Cla-
" mour have been excited relative to Secret
" Influence. But, even if it existed, I see
" no injurious Consequences to be appre-
" hended from its Operation :—for, as every
" Measure advised, can only be carried into
" Effect by efficient Ministers, they must be
" devoid of all Honour or Spirit, if they
" would execute Measures not their own.
" On the other Hand, he must be a dastardly
" Minister, who, finding Parliament engaged
" in prosecuting Measures odious to the
" Country, would hesitate to advise their
" Dissolution. And does any Man doubt,
" that a House of Commons may speak a
" Language opposed to the Sentiments of the
" Country? The Support which the noble
" Lord in the blue Ribband, found within
" these Walls, during successive Years, when
" prosecuting the American War, may con-
" vince the most incredulous Person. I do
" not scruple to declare, that the Adminis-
" tration just dismissed from Power, formed
" a Blockade round the sacred Person of the
" Sovereign, and endeavoured to despoil

" him of every Attribute of Majesty, except " its external Decorations, or its empty Pa- " geantry."

Those Opinions which Pulteney always maintained with stern Severity, but, in temperate Language, Governor Johnstone enforced with the Violence of Manner and Tone, characteristic of his natural Disposition. " Instead," exclaimed he, " of admit- " ting that the Horrors and Rapacity of the " East India Bill, produced its Rejection in " the upper House, the late Secretary tells " us that it proceeded entirely from Secret " Influence. But, what Proof of the pre- " tended Fact does he adduce? None. It " is merely the Catch-word of a Party, in- " vented to delude the credulous Vulgar, " and to render the Sovereign, or his Ser- " vants, unpopular. The same Cry was " raised against the noble Lord in the blue " Ribband; but he now protests that no " such Influence ever existed, to his Know- " ledge. Indeed, he must either confess " that such was the Case, or subscribe to his " own Meanness in submitting to it. What " stronger Attestation can be given that it " is chimerical, since the noble Lord, though

" now acting in perfect Concert with his late " Colleague, and willing to avail himself by " every Expedient, of the Clamour of the " Hour; yet, when called on to speak from " his own personal Experience while First " Minister, declares the Accusation to be " totally groundless?—The present Pro- " ceeding appears to me to have been open " and avowed, not concerted. A noble " Earl, convinced of the fatal Consequences " which must have resulted from the East " India Bill, both to the Sovereign and to " his fellow Subjects; is said to have de- " manded an Audience, in which he fully " explained them to His Majesty. The " Nobleman in Question having related the " Purport of this Interview, and its Opera- " tion on the royal Mind, to various of his " Friends, a Resistance was set on Foot to " oppose the Passage of the Measure itself " through the upper House. A Change of " Administration naturally and properly fol- " lowed. What! are we to deny the King " the Privilege of conversing with his own " Subjects and Nobles! If so, we deprive " him of the Power of dismissing his Minis- " ters."—" We have doubtless a Right to " demand that the Government shall be

" entrusted to Men of Ability and Integrity. " But, if these Qualities are found in the " present Cabinet, and if the Measures which " they propose, appear to be wise, it is the " Height of Faction to refuse our Support " to such Men."

Stimulated by the personal Attacks made upon him, not only by Fox, but, from various other Quarters of the House; all accusing him of the Attainment of Power through Secret Influence, and demanding an unequivocal Explanation of his Intentions relative to the Dissolution of Parliament; the Chancellor of the Exchequer now came forward in his own Person. Having denied in the most positive Terms, the Allegations advanced to prove his unconstitutional Attainment of Office, " I declare," continued he, " that I " came up no *Back Stairs*. When my So- " vereign was pleased to send for me, in " Order to know whether I would accept of " Employment, I was compelled to go to " the royal Closet: but I know of no Secret " Influence. My own Integrity forms my " Protection against such a concealed Agent; " and whenever I discover it, the House may

" rest assured, I will not remain one Hour " in the Cabinet! *I will neither have the* " *Meanness to act upon Advice given by* " *Others, nor the Hypocrisy to pretend, when* " *the Measures of an Administration in which* " *I occupy a Place, are censured, that they* " *were not of my advising. If any former* " *Ministers are hurt by these Charges, to* " *them be the Sting!* Little did I conceive " that I should ever be accused within " these Walls, as the Abettor and the Tool " of Secret Influence! The Nature and the " Singularity of the Imputation, only render " it the more contemptible. This is the sole " Reply that I shall ever deign to make. " The Probity and Rectitude of my private, " as well as of my public Principles, will " ever constitute my Sources of Action. I " never will be responsible for Measures not " my own, nor condescend to become the " Instrument of any secret Advisers what- " ever.—With Respect to the Questions put " to me on the Subject of a Dissolution of " Parliament, it does not become me to " comment on the Expressions composing " the gracious Answer of the Sovereign, de- " livered by him from the Throne. Neither

" will I compromize the royal Prerogative, " nor bargain it away in the House of Com- " mons!"

This Speech, the Dignity, Elevation, and Firmness of which, it is not easy to appreciate fully, when we reflect that it was pronounced by a Minister, in an Assembly of which his Adversaries possessed a decided Majority; called up Lord North. I think I never saw him so much agitated, except once, when Barré was the Cause. He could not indeed remain silent under Imputations so severe and pointed, as were those levelled at him by Pitt. With more Indignation than was natural to him, he repelled the Charges of *Meanness* and *Hypocrisy*:—Accusations, which, he said, were the most gross and scandalous that he had ever heard within the Walls of that House. Sheridan retorted on the Chancellor of the Exchequer with still greater Asperity; applying to his ministerial Conduct, the very Epithets which Pitt had used, when addressing Lord North. Rigby even indirectly accused the Minister, of putting a Fallacy into the sacred Mouth of Majesty, with Intention to deceive that Assembly. Alluding to the late Answer

from the Throne, to the Address of the Commons, he observed that "a Newgate Soli-"citor, he was persuaded, would not have "descended to so low and scandalous a "Mode of Deception, if any Intention existed "of dissolving Parliament, after the Assu-"rances to the contrary given by the King." One of Lord Surrey's Motions, calculated to stigmatize His Majesty personally, as having permitted "his sacred Name to be unconsti-"tutionally used, in order to affect the Deli-"berations of Parliament;" was voted by a very considerable Majority, in a crowded House, at seven o'Clock in the Morning. Yet, even amidst so conspicuous a Triumph, Fox might find Subject for just Apprehension, in his already diminished Numbers. Instead of dividing, as he had done before the Recess, nearly *two to one* upon almost every Question, he carried the first Division against Administration, upon "going "into the Committee on the Order of the "Day," by only *thirty-nine*; though four hundred and twenty-five Members voted on the Occasion. Lord Surrey's Resolution passed, it is true, by *fifty-four*; but, as only three hundred and thirty-eight Persons voted on that Question, it appeared evident that

the Augmentation on the Side of Opposition, arose from the better Discipline and closer Attendance enforced among their Followers, than was observed by the Adherents of Government. When Fox, elated by his Advantage, attempted, four Days afterwards, on the 16th of January, to make the House declare, that "the Continuance of Ministers "in Office, was contrary to the Principles "of the Constitution," he found his Majority declined to *twenty-one*, on a Division where three hundred and eighty-nine Members voted. His Parliamentary Ascendancy therefore, however apparently imposing, palpably rested on a most precarious and decaying Foundation.

[16th January.] Some Features of this Discussion, which took Place on the State of the Nation, were of a Nature to make a deep Impression on the Memory. I have already mentioned, that during the Existence of the *Coalition* Administration, Intentions had unquestionably been nourished, of transporting Lord North to the upper House of Parliament:—Intentions, the Accomplishment of which was frustrated by the King. Powis, during the Debate in Question, hav-

ing expressed his anxious Wish, that a Union might take Place between Pitt and Fox; after passing very high Encomiums on both, as Men of transcendent Abilities, fitted for the Government of a great Country, added, "I do not, however, approve of the Coalition "between the late Secretary of State, and "the noble Lord in the blue Ribband. "The Ambition of the former, is indeed "laudable in itself; but, I believe he is not "delicate about the Means of its Gratifica-"tion. I perceive likewise plainly, the Dif-"ficulty of inducing the two Right Honour-"able Gentlemen to act together:—for, the "noble Lord must not be disgraced. He "shines indeed no longer, except with a "borrowed Light. He is a Man of whom "I cannot say, *laudandus;* but, *ornandus*, "*tollendus*. I would that such could be "the Case." Lord North, in the Course of his Speech, having alluded with great good Humour, to Powis's Observations, however painful, on his shining with a borrowed Lustre; observed, that a classic Expression had been applied to him, though with the Difference of a Monosyllable;—NON *laudandus;—ornandus,—tollendus.* "I hope," continued he, "*tollendus* is not to be un-

" derstood in the worst Sense. It is not " meant to *kill* me. It is only intended " that I should be *ornandus*:—in vulgar " English, *kicked up Stairs*. But, Sir, I " feel no Inclination to be kicked up Stairs. " I should be very unwilling to stand in the " Way of any political Agreement which " might be beneficial to the Country; yet I " will not go up to the House of Peers. " I will remain in this Assembly, for the " Purpose of defending my Honour and " Character. If, in the Course of Nature, " such an Event should indeed take Place, " I shall esteem it a very great Distinction. " I mean, provided the present Ministers " will suffer this House to retain its appro- " priate Privileges in the British Frame of " Constitution. If they do not suffer any " Constitution at all to survive, then I will " repair to that House, as to a Place of Rest, " a Place of Sleep, where I may repose " during the Rest of my Life. But, neither " my Honour nor my Character will allow " me at present to accept of a Peerage. Its " Acceptance would place me in Agrippina's " Situation, when she says, ' *Je vois croître* " *les Honneurs, et tomber mon Crédit.*' " So much Suavity, Taste, and Wit, did that

most amiable, as well as accomplished Nobleman, usually mix up with his Addresses to Parliament!

He had not many Imitators;—for, never, I believe, were Debates conducted with more Asperity and personal Recrimination, than during the Period of Pitt's and Fox's Contest for Power. Accusations the most futile and unbecoming in their Nature, were preferred on both Sides, with the View of rendering each other odious to the Nation. Sir Richard Hill, Member for Shropshire, animadverted with some Severity, on the frequent Attendance, and Marks of warm Interest exhibited by the Prince of Wales, while present in the lower House. "Whatever Censure may be lavished on *secret* "Influence," observed he, "*corrupt* Influence must necessarily be pernicious. The "former may produce possible Benefit. The "latter never can, under any Circumstances. "What might be the Consequence, if it "should happen that *an Heir apparent attended the Debates of this Assembly, and "endeavoured by his Looks or Gestures, to "countenance a Faction, and to influence "individual Votes?* Might not such Con-

"duct be esteemed a Species of corrupt In-
"fluence?" A very general Cry of *Order!* accompanied with Testimonies of Disapprobation, arising from various Parts of the House; Lord Melbourne, who then occupied the Place of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, declared that the Words spoken, amounted to a direct Attack on His Royal Highness, and therefore he should demand Proof of the alledged Fact. Sir Richard replied, that "the Prince "to whom he alluded, was only a suppo-"sititious Personage." Lord Delaval, on whom the *Coalition* Ministers had conferred an Irish Peerage, only a few Months earlier; and who was raised to the British Peerage by Pitt, about two Years later;—a Nobleman with whom I had the Honour of being much acquainted, and whom I may have Occasion to mention again in some Part of these Memoirs;—rose to remark, that "the "Prince of Wales acted most wisely in "attending Debates, for the Purpose of im-"bibing just Ideas of that Constitution, "which must probably at some future Day "be placed under his Protection, as its "natural Guardian." But, Hill, not at all disconcerted, calmly answered, that "for

"such Purposes as those just mentioned, "he could have no Objection to His Royal "Highness's Appearance in that House." Here the Conversation terminated.

The Prince, though from Deference to his Father's Wishes, signified to him, he had absented himself on the Day when "the East "India Bill" was finally rejected in the upper House, yet did not the less retain and avow his Predilection for its Authors. His Presence in the House of Commons, among the Peers, where he took his Place under the Gallery, might therefore be considered as indirectly encouraging to Fox and the *Coalition*. Frederic, Prince of Wales, his Grandfather, had however, as is well known, given the same Marks of Partiality to the Minority which drove Sir Robert Walpole from Power, in the Beginning of 1741, without exciting any Comment or Disapprobation. Pulteney, then at the Head of Opposition, even alluded in one of his Speeches, to his Consciousness of the august Personage before whom he spoke. Sir Richard Hill, whom I very particularly knew, was one of the most upright, disinterested, and honest Men who ever sat in Parliament. Andrew

Marvel was not more incorrupt; but, his religious Cast of Character laid him open to the Shafts of Ridicule. His Manners were quaint and puritanical; his Address, shy and embarrassed. He possessed however a most benevolent Disposition, together with a great Estate, which enabled him to gratify his generous and philanthropic Feelings. Sir Richard, though he attained to old Age, being, I believe, seventy-five at the Time of his Decease, remained always unmarried. In the Simplicity, Singularity, and Eccentricities of his Character, as well as Deportment, he always reminded me of Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley. The "Rolliad," which treats him with great Severity, describes him as

"Friend of King George, but, of King Jesus more."

In the same Manner, the Earl of Dartmouth, while a Member of Lord North's Cabinet, being likewise known to entertain very deep Sentiments of Religion, had obtained from the Opposition of that Time, the Nick-name of "the Psalm Singer."

The indecorous Personality of Debate

that distinguished the lower House, during this extraordinary Crisis of Affairs, produced Scenes apparently unbecoming the Assembly where they originated, and such as we would vainly expect to find in more tranquil Periods of our Parliamentary History. General Ross, a Man of very eccentric Manners, rising in his Place, accused a Lord of the Bedchamber, the Earl of Galloway, with endeavouring to influence his Vote, by Allusions or direct Intimations of the royal Displeasure at his supporting the *Coalition*. Lord Galloway's Brother, the Honorable Keith Stewart, read a written Denial of the Assertion: but, the General persisted in maintaining the Charge. He had served with great Gallantry and Distinction, under General Eliott, during the memorable Siege of Gibraltar; where he commanded the Troops employed on the 27th of November, 1781, in the *Sally* made from the Garrison with such Success, when the Lines and Batteries of the Besiegers, were burned or destroyed. This extraordinary Attack on Lord Galloway, was commonly denominated "General Ross's *Sally*." Lampoons, a Weapon, in the Management of which, the Opposition unquestionably ex-

celled their Opponents, were circulated with great Assiduity and Effect. In one of them, Stewart was thus apostrophized:

"Captain Keith, Captain Keith,
Keep your Tongue in your Teeth,
Lest you Bedchamber Secrets betray!
And if you want more,
Why, my bold Commodore,
You may borrow of Lord Galloway."

Keith Stewart, who was a Captain in the Royal Navy, had incurred, as a professional Man, some Censure or Reflections, perhaps very unjustly, during the War with Holland, for having allowed a homeward bound Dutch Ship of War to slip through the Downs, and reach the Texel, while he was said to have been on Shore at Deal. His Brother, Lord Galloway, having, like Lord Sandwich, the Inside of his Mouth most defectively furnished for Purposes of Mastication, it was well known, used a complete Set of artificial Teeth. Sir Richard Hill, accustomed almost always to draw his Allusions or Authorities from Holy Writ, endeavoured to prove that even Benefits might result from secret Influence, by adducing the Instances of Haman and of Mordecai. "The honest

"Israelite," he observed, "repaired pri-
"vately to Court, and averted the Danger
"which threatened the People of God, from
"Haman's Ambition; who being driven from
"the Cabinet, was finally suspended on a
"Gibbet." I thought however, at the Time when Sir Richard pronounced this Speech, that Pitt was not perfectly pleased with the Comparison made between himself and Mordecai. Even Dundas, who might have been esteemed incapable of descending to such Modes of Attack; yet, when referring to Lee's very imprudent Assertion, made, I think, on the 12th of January, that "a
"Charter was only a Scroll of Parchment,
"with a Piece of Wax dangling to it;" observed, that it had been asked with equal Reason, "What was the great Harm of
"hanging an Attorney General? An hanged
"Attorney General, was only a Carcase
"dangling at the End of a Rope." Sheridan, however, retorted on him with equal Ability and Severity, for this curious Metaphor. Lord North did not scruple to accuse the Ministers with canvassing for Votes, from one Extremity of the Kingdom, to the other:—an Imputation repeated in still stronger Language by General Conway, who

denominated their Agents, *Rat Catchers*; but, which Charge was repelled by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as wholly destitute of Proof. On the other Hand, Rigby complained that Robinson, in the Anticipation of a speedy Dissolution of Parliament, had made Use of Ministerial Influence, to affect the future Election of a Member for the Borough of Harwich; though he did not think proper to ground any specific Motion on his Complaint.

Fox, alluding to the Reflections which had been thrown out by Sir Richard Hill, on the Prince of Wales, for attending Questions under Agitation in that House, exclaimed with Warmth, "God forbid, that "Royal Personage should not participate "in its political Concerns! Where can he "so well imbibe a Knowledge of the Princi- "ples of our Constitution, as within these "Walls? How can he better illustrate the "Excellence of his Character, than by thus "blending personal Respect for the King "his Father, with Attachment to his Coun- "try?" Not deterred however by such Observations, from animadverting on other Circumstances connected with His Royal High-

ness's personal Appearance under the Gallery; the new Treasurer of the Navy remarked hypothetically, that "if the great "Personage in Question, not content with "merely listening to the Debates, should "on any Occasion testify by his Behaviour "or Gesticulations, while in the House, a "Predilection or Partiality for any Set of "Men; such Marks of his Preference would "be unbecoming, and might operate as a "Means of Influence." No Answer was given by any Member of the Opposition, to the supposed Case thus stated: but Lord North, in the Course of the Evening, after expatiating on the eminent Virtues of the Heir Apparent, expressed a becoming Admiration at "his attending the House of "Commons, where he might imbibe the true "Spirit of our Constitution, and become ac- "quainted with the Nature of this limited "Government, rather than listening to Flat- "terers." The Comments on this delicate Subject, proceeded no further, and were not renewed during the Remainder of the Parliament.

[23d January.] The City of London led the Way to the rest of the Kingdom, by

going up at this Juncture to the Foot of the Throne, with an Address, thanking his Majesty for the very Interference, which the House of Commons had pronounced to be subversive of the Constitution. They retorted at the same Time, upon the Authors of Fox's India Bill, the Charge of "raising "a Power unknown to this free Govern- "ment, and highly inimical to its Safety." Encouraged by such unequivocal Demonstrations of the Affection of the Metropolis, and of the corresponding Defection in the Opposition Ranks, Pitt had already framed and brought forward another East India Bill, the second Reading of which took Place at this Time. All the Faculties of the two great Leaders, who had originated those respective Measures, were exerted in its Attack and its Defence. Fox, after contrasting its pretended Inefficiency and Fluctuation of System, with the Vigour which characterized his own Measure for the Government of our Asiatic Possessions, concluded by protesting, "If the present *Bill* "is adopted, the Company may continue to "transmit Orders to their Servants. They "may fill their Dispatches, with Morals and "with Ethics; but, all their Commands will be

" perused with Indifference, and treated with " Disrespect. *If adopted, I do not hesitate " to assert that India is lost, irrecoverably " lost for ever.*" This most unfortunate Prediction was not however meant so much for Futurity, as calculated to operate on the Apprehensions of his Audience. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with more Attention to the Patience of the House, briefly pointed out the dangerous, as well as unconstitutional Nature of the Power, proposed by Fox to be vested in Lord Fitzwilliam, " independant of the Crown; dependant on " the good Graces of the Ministers who " could command a Majority in Parliament." The Division took Place before Midnight, when Pitt's *Bill* was rejected only by *eight* Votes, out of four hundred and thirty-six Persons who divided. Such, indeed, was Fox's Consciousness of these Victories finally terminating in Defeat, that no sooner had he thrown out the Bill of the Minister, than he moved for Leave to introduce his own Bill a second Time; but, so changed and modified in its leading Principles, as to be scarcely recognizable for the same Measure. He unquestionably perceived when too late, the Error into which his own ill regulated

Ambition, propelled by Burke's ardent and theoretical Spirit, had precipitated the Party. In Order therefore to conciliate the Favor of the House, and of the Country, to the Measure, he now offered to abandon almost all its obnoxious Provisions; particularly, the Patronage, which had excited so much Obloquy and Clamor. There remained only two fundamental Principles or Features, which he declared himself unable to retract; namely, the Permanency of the System for the Government of India, under Parliamentary, not Royal Authority; and secondly, that the supreme Control itself should be established, not on the Ganges, but here at Home. The Proposition, however, appeared to be no longer suited to the Exigency. It is impossible not to accuse Fox of betraying Want of Judgment, throughout every Part of the Transactions which led to his ministerial Downfall. A cautious, or a temperate Statesman, would not have furnished the Sovereign to whom he was personally unacceptable, with the Means of precipitating him from the Elevation which he had attained with so much Labor. Had the *Coalition* made a judicious and moderate Use of their Power, the King, however he might have

lamented his Situation, could not have liberated himself from their Yoke. They enabled him, by their Errors, to emancipate himself. When we reflect that another Coalition, formed by Lords Grenville and Grey, uninstructed by Experience, renewed and exhibited in 1807, nearly the same Error, followed by the same Results, it affords no common Matter of Astonishment.

After the Rejection of the Minister's Bill for the Government of India, Fox, sustained by Members in various Parts of the House, endeavoured to force from Pitt an explicit Declaration of his Intentions relative to a Dissolution of Parliament: but, neither Menaces nor Expostulations could prevail over his Determination to observe a profound Silence on that Point. He resembled a Rock, against which the Waves dashed and spent their Force. To General Conway, who accused him of attaining Power by unconstitutional Means, and existing by Corruption, he replied with great Dignity; but, refused to answer any Interrogatories from Individuals. "I will be the "sole Judge of my own Honour," said he, "and though I have not been long accus-

"tomed to the strong Language used within "these Walls; yet, neither unsupported "Slander, nor intemperate Threats, shall "discompose my Temper." Vainly Fox exhausted his Indignation on the Minister's "sulky Silence, and Want of Decency to-"wards the House." With as little Effect, Lord Surrey pledged himself, if Pitt persisted in denying the Information demanded, to bring forward a Motion of a compulsory, or a criminating Nature. Lord North and Sheridan, each, assailed him with every Weapon of Debate: while Martin, notwithstanding his avowed Detestation of the *Coalition*, declared that on this Occasion he could not support Administration; but, would abandon them, if the threatened Resolution should be brought forward. Pitt remained immovable. It was a Moment of Crisis; the Majority irritated, clamorous, and ripe to have come to a Vote of a violent Nature. But, Fox, who well knew that any such Act would only furnish a momentary Triumph, followed by the Destruction of his Parliamentary Machinery, interposed with apparent Moderation. "Perhaps," observed he, "the Minister conceives that be-"cause he has insulted this House to such

"a Point, he may proceed still further. I "am nevertheless averse to take any intem- "perate Advantage of his Conduct." He, therefore, proposed an Adjournment of a few Hours, 'till twelve o'Clock of the same Day, (Saturday, the 24th of January;) expressing his Hope that a full Attendance would then take place. His Expectations were realized:—for I have rarely witnessed a greater Number of Members than assembled on the Occasion. Powis instantly rising, with Marks of strong and visible Emotion, reiterated Fox's Question of the preceding Night; but, Pitt, though he no longer declined making any Reply, yet was with Difficulty induced to guarantee the Existence of the House of Commons, even for eight and forty Hours. With that slender Assurance of their Duration, they instantly adjourned.

Notwithstanding the rising Indignation of the Capital and the Country, which every Day manifested itself with augmenting Energy, in Favour of Administration; yet the Minister's Situation at this Juncture, equally painful in itself, as it was without Precedent in our Parliamentary History, appeared to

be at Times not wholly exempt from personal Danger. Fox might be said, without either Metaphor or Exaggeration, to hold suspended over his Head, the severest Marks of the Indignation of an offended House of Commons. His Removal from the King's Presence and Councils, as an Enemy to his Country; his Impeachment, or his Commitment to the Tower;—any, or all of these Propositions, might probably, nay, might certainly have been carried, in Moments of Effervescence, when the Passions of a popular Assembly, inflamed by such a Conductor as Fox, seemed to be ripe for any Act of Violence. The Irritation and Impatience produced by Debates, protracted or repeated Night after Night, rendered his Followers susceptible of Impressions the most hostile to the Minister; who, in sullen Majesty, or in contumelious Silence, heard, unmoved, their clamorous Denunciations, seated calmly on the Treasury Bench. Mr. Pitt displayed in that Situation, during successive Weeks, a Combination of Fortitude, Self-possession, Presence of Mind, and Ability, which I never recollect without Admiration. He did not indeed manifest the Suavity, Amenity, and Wit, of Lord North, or

of Sheridan. But, always preserving the Command of himself, he was never led into Deviations from Caution and Prudence, even when he seemed most to set at Defiance, the Menaces of his Adversaries. If we reflect on his Period of Life, our Surprize is augmented. He constituted indeed in himself, the Administration which he defended; and which, without him, could not have been maintained for a single Week, in Existence.

It may naturally be asked, why Fox, holding in his Hand so powerful an Engine as the Majority of a House of Commons, which Assembly, he well knew, might every Day be dissolved; and the individual Members composing which Superiority, he saw diminishing after almost every Debate or Division, in consequence of the natural Operation of a Variety of obvious Causes; yet should never have let fall its Vengeance on the Head of the Minister, whom he apparently held in his Power? Why, when he saw all the ordinary Expedients exhausted or ineffectual, which might compel the King to dismiss his Administration, or induce the Ministry to resign; did he tamely wait, till Mr. Pitt's Measures being ripe,

and the Country having declared almost unanimously on his Side, a Dissolution reduced the *Coalition* to Insignificance, and overwhelmed their ill-concerted Schemes for perpetuating their Authority? Fox wanted neither Vigor, Decision, nor Inclination, to have anticipated his own approaching Fall, and the Extinction of his ambitious Plans. Nor could he deceive himself relative to the political Destruction which impended over the *Coalition*, if they did not prove victorious in the actual Contest. How then, and on what Principles of common Sense, are we to explain this seeming Contradiction in his Conduct?

Fox possessed no absolute Certainty in the first Place, whatever he might believe, that the same Majority which had supported him in voting Remonstrances to the Throne, would either stop the Supplies, or carry up an Address for Mr. Pitt's Removal. Various Country Gentlemen already called for a Union, and thought that no Administration from which he should be excluded, would be found equal to the national Emergency. Even many of Fox's Supporters among them loudly deprecated all Extremities. They

might abandon him. He might therefore be left in a Minority, and all his Consequence, as the Head of a great Party, would thus be lost by one imprudent Step. But, granting however, as seemed most probable, that he should carry a personal Question against Mr. Pitt, by ten, twenty, or thirty Votes, in a crowded House; what would be the inevitable Effect of such a Victory? That the King, sustained by the Voice of the Country, and not susceptible of Fear, when he believed himself to be acting right; instead of dismissing his Ministers, would dissolve the Parliament, and confidently appeal to the People, against their own Representatives. In that Case, Fox, far from attaining his Object, would only have accelerated a Dissolution; and would afford to his Antagonist, a plausible, if not a solid Excuse, for advising the Sovereign to adopt that Measure. These were unquestionably, the real Causes of Fox's seeming Moderation. Nor did Pitt, on the other Hand, want Motives equally powerful in restraining him from any precipitate Movement. The County Members who supported him, were adverse to a Dissolution, unless Circumstances rendered it indispensable. By temporizing and pro-

tracting, however irksome, and even in some Degree humiliating, might be considered his Situation in Parliament; he gave Time for the public Sentiment to be loudly, as well as generally pronounced, and could avail himself of it at any Moment. Such were the Considerations which mutually withheld the two Chiefs from proceeding to Extremities, till the natural and unavoidable Progress of Affairs, produced the final Consummation.

[26th January.] The Idea of endeavouring to reconcile two Men, who combined in their Characters, almost all the great Endowments fitted for Government; if it could be realized, seemed apparently pregnant, at first View, with incalculable Benefit to the Country. Some Individuals of Respectability in the House of Commons, impelled by these Feelings, undertook the Experiment. As early as the 20th of January, the Idea was suggested from various Quarters, in the Course of Debate; but, neither Fox nor Pitt, though both affected to consider it as an Object highly desirable, pretended to think it practicable without a Sacrifice of Principle. Fox fairly avowed that he entertained very little Hope of seeing such a

Union effected, as could prove a Blessing to the Country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer professed a similar Conviction, and stated it in still plainer Language. "I am "by no means averse," observed he, "to "the Union so strenuously and so respect- "ably recommended; but, I agree with the "Right Honorable Gentleman, (Fox,) that "such a Union, not founded on Principle, "would only prove fallacious, and would "produce Disunion in a Quarter where it "must be attended with worse Consequences "to the State, than can result from our Dis- "putes in this Assembly." Marsham, while he coincided in Sentiment with the two preceding Speakers, yet expressed his warm Satisfaction at the Assurances which they gave, of their mutual Disposition to act together for the public Extrication. But, Powis, with more Discernment, exclaimed, "A Union of Abilities has been loudly "called for within these Walls. I rather "wish to see a Union of Principle. The "former may produce discordant Counsels, "and feeble Measures. The latter must "have opposite Results."

In Fact, however specious the Project ap-

peared in Theory, it proved impracticable, and only served to demonstrate the Futility of the Attempt. The St. Alban's Tavern became the Scene of this Parliamentary Drama, to which Place repaired about sixty or more Members, distinguished for high Character, large Property, and acknowledged Uprightness of Intention. Though they chose Mr. Thomas Grosvenor, Brother to the Peer of that Name, and one of the Representatives for the City of Chester, as their nominal Chairman; their Deliberations and Proceedings were chiefly conducted by two Gentlemen, who had already on various Occasions, taken a Lead in the Debates carried on within the Walls of the House. The first, the Honorable Charles Marsham, Son and Heir of Lord Romney; himself Member for Kent; though a Man by no Means prepossessing or engaging in his Manners, which were coarse and inelegant; yet wanted not Ability, and attracted deservedly general Consideration in his Parliamentary Capacity. The other, Mr. Powis, whom I have had so often Occasion to mention, and who commonly prefaced his Speeches, on Occasions of great Interest, by a copious Discharge of Tears, which he seemed to

command at Will; challenged Attention from his recognized Integrity, Eloquence, Energy of Mind, and Impartiality.

The Duke of Portland, as nominal Head of one Party, and Pitt, as Leader of the other, affected equally to receive with Deference, the Propositions made to each, on the Part of the associated Members. It is probable, however, that the Duke, in this Profession, might be more sincere than the Minister. Difficulties and Objections, either to a personal Interview, or to a Negotiation, were started in turn by both. Pitt refusing to resign, or even to hear of a *virtual* Resignation, which was required of him, as a previous Step to any Conference for the Purpose of forming an extended Administration; the Overtures were suspended, and finally broken off, in consequence of these preliminary Impediments. But, the patriotic Zeal of the St. Alban's Meeting, was not to be overcome by ordinary Obstacles; and they returned to the Charge some Time afterwards, apparently under more propitious Auspices. In Compliance with their Suggestion and Wishes, the King was even induced, towards the End of the Month of Fe-

bruary, to send a Message to the Duke of Portland, recommending a Conference between him and Pitt, with a View to constitute a Ministry, on "a wide Basis, and on "*fair and equal* Terms." Instead of instantly closing with such a Proposition, from which, neither the Sovereign, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whatever might have been their secret Wishes, could easily recede, without incurring the Imputation of Insincerity; the Duke of Portland and Fox thought proper to cavil about the Acceptation of the Term "equal." At this Opening, with which they injudiciously furnished him, Pitt escaped, by refusing to define any Expressions, before the proposed Interview.

All further Efforts were therefore ultimately abandoned, with a View to produce a political Union between two Men, whose mutual Animosity and Rivality seemed to derive new Force, from the unsuccessful Attempts made to effect a Reconciliation. With whatever Complacency and ostensible Alacrity, Pitt invariably received the Propositions for such a Junction, it is difficult to persuade Ourselves that he could cordially desire their Accomplishment. He beheld

the Prize for which they were contending, nearly attained and secured. His Ambition impelled him to govern alone, without an Equal and a Co-adjutor in the Cabinet, of such Energy as Fox. Even their Recriminations in Parliament, which had been so acrimonious and so recent, seemed hardly to admit of being buried in instant Oblivion, without a mutual Sacrifice of Principle. We are warranted therefore in believing, that an Accommodation, forced on both by imperious Circumstances, would have proved hollow, insincere, and of short Duration. They appeared to be not formed for acting together as Members of the same Administration; nor did they ever openly coalesce for an Instant, during their whole remaining Lives. The French Revolution itself, which successively brought over to Government, as to an Asylum against the Evils of a sanguinary anarchical Republic, so many other eminent Individuals, at whose Head were the Duke of Portland, Burke, and Windham; could never induce Fox to quit the Opposition Bench. He remained fixed there above two and twenty Years, till Death liberated him from his Antagonist; and he then only became a Minister, when,

perhaps unfortunately for his Country, his own Career drew to its Close.

During the Debate of the 26th of January, in Answer to the Charges brought against him by Fox, who called on him to resign his unconstitutional Power, as a necessary Preliminary to any Union; the new First Minister replied with equal Dignity and Force of Expression. He seemed, indeed, to feel not the slightest Apprehension from the Indignation or the Votes of his Antagonist's Majority. "I came into Office," observed he, "to fulfil the Duty which I "owe his Majesty, whose Confidence I have "not forfeited by any Experiment for introducing a new Power or Estate into the "Constitution."—"I consider myself as aggrieved; since, wholly untried in my ministerial Capacity, I lie under the Censure of a Resolution of this House: but I "have at least the Consolation to reflect, "that in Proportion as the present Cabinet "becomes more known, its Members rise "in the Confidence and Esteem of Parliament, as well as of the People. I may "appeal for the Truth of my Assertion, to "the decaying Majorities of the Opposition

—"Not that I am inimical to a Reconci-
"liation or a Union, which has been so
"strongly recommended; but, in Order to
"accomplish this Object, all personal Views
"or Prejudices, all Pride and Punctilio,
"must be laid aside. The Right Honorable
"Gentleman has insisted on the entire Re-
"signation of the present Ministers, previous
"to any Negotiation. But, though I oc-
"cupy an Employment of Eminence, it is
"not one of Choice; and I trust, whenever
"the Occasion calls for it, I shall approve
"myself neither tenacious of Power, nor
"improperly attached to Office. I act from
"patriotic, not private Views: but, my Sense
"of public Duty compels me to retain my
"actual Situation, till another Arrangement
"can be formed; and not to suffer this great
"Country to be again plunged into a State
"of Anarchy, accompanied with the Ab-
"sence of all Government, as we experi-
"enced on a recent Occasion." The Inflexibility and Determination manifested in Pitt's Speech, left little rational Prospect of Accommodation.

[2d—10th February.] The Discussions which took place in the House of Commons,

between the Termination of January, and the Middle of the ensuing Month, though equally violent and acrimonious with the preceding Debates, contained less Matter of Interest, or of Novelty. Accusations, levelled against the "East India Bill," from the Treasury Bench; or against Secret Influence, from the opposite Side; began to weary their Hearers, and made little Impression. Fox continued, it is true, Master of the Deliberations of the lower House of Parliament; his Majorities sometimes falling as low as nineteen, and at other Times rising to thirty-one: but, this precarious Superiority was far overbalanced by his Decline in the popular Esteem. No Eloquence, nor any Exertions of Sophistry, could reconcile the Public to his Union with Lord North, followed immediately by the Introduction of a Measure, obviously calculated to cement their political Power at the Expence of the Crown, which it must have reduced to a State of Insignificance or Vassalage. During the Course of the Debate which arose on the 2d of February, when Mr. Grosvenor moved that "an *extended* and *united* Admi-"nistration was necessary for the Extrica-"tion of the Country from its distracted

"State," great Difference of Opinion respecting its Eligibility, was exhibited among the Members of the Assembly. Powis, whose Sentiments upon every Point inspired great Respect, declared that "a general "Coalition was now become a Matter, not "of Choice, but of Necessity." "No Man," added he, "can any longer oppose it, without voting in Effect that the national Business shall be suspended, which must produce general Ruin." Widely different was the View of Things taken by Sir Cecil Wray, who, however inferior to Powis in Ability, yet, as being Fox's Colleague for Westminster, and possessing plain common Sense, was heard with much Attention. "I can"not," said he, "consistently with my Duty "or my Principles, contribute by my Vote "to replace in Cabinet, the very Individuals, "who by their late daring Invasion of the "Rights and Properties of their fellow-Sub"jects, have been so justly dismissed by "His Majesty, *and some of whom ought to* "*have been brought to the Block.*"—"As "to the Distractions in the State, which are "mentioned in the *Motion*, I know of none; "nor do I believe in their Existence. On "the contrary, the People seem to be nearly

" of one Opinion, respecting the present Mi-
" nisters, and those recently in Power. The
" former are generally regarded as honest
" and virtuous; while the others are thought
" to have justly forfeited their Employments,
" for having attacked the most sacred Privi-
" leges of their fellow Citizens. There are
" hardly two Opinions on this Subject, with-
" out Doors. This House, indeed, has de-
" clared that it has no Confidence in the
" Administration; but, the Addresses which
" are daily pouring in from different Parts
" of the Kingdom, prove how much the
" Public confide in them. The unavoidable
" Inference is, that *the Voice of the House of*
" *Commons, is no longer the Voice of the*
" *People of England.*"

Fox, in his Reply, treated the Addresses to which Sir Cecil had alluded, with great Contumely; not foreseeing how rapidly they would spread over the whole Surface of the Country. Of Westminster, and of Middlesex, he spoke, as Portions of England inaccessible to Ministerial Artifice or Delusion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer having assented to Mr. Grosvenor's *Motion*, Mr. Coke, Member for Norfolk, immediately proposed, that

" the Continuance of the present Ministers in " Power, is an *Obstacle* to an *extended* and " *united* Administration:" Fox thus conducting his Majority forward from Step to Step, till he should carry them to the intended Consummation. On this Mode of Parliamentary Proceeding, Pitt commented with much Severity and Justice of Animadversion. " The House," observed he, " has " been insidiously led on from one Resolu- " tion to another, without ever discussing " any single Proposition on its own proper " Merits. The first Resolutions were voted " at six in the Morning;—a most unusual " Hour; with scarcely any Debate or Dis- " cussion. The second grew out of the " former, and were followed by the third. " But, how had they been discussed?—As " mere Corollaries to the preceding Propo- " sitions, which this Assembly was bound " in Consistency to adopt, as a Matter of " Course. Thus artfully have we been kept " from forming a fair Estimate of the Ques- " tions submitted to us."—Having endeavoured to point out the Contradictions in which Powis involved himself, by *voting* for the Resolutions, though he *opposed* and *disapproved* them; though he admitted that

"they were hastily proposed, grounded on "doubtful or unauthenticated Premises, and "held out unfair Conclusions;"—Pitt adverted to other Parts of that Gentleman's Speech. "He does not wish me," added the Minister, "to quit the Fortress, as he "denominates it, that I occupy, and to "march out with a Halter about my Neck. "Sir, the only Fortress that I recognize, or "ever desire to defend, is the Fortress of "the Constitution. For its Preservation I "will resist every Attack, and every Seduction. With what Regard, indeed, either "to my own personal Honour, or to public "Principle, can I change my Armour, and "meanly beg to be received as a Volunteer "among the Forces of the Enemy? This is "a Humiliation to which I never will con-"descend."—"I am nevertheless disposed "to facilitate, as far as my Principles will "allow me, the Union so much desired. "But, I see no Reason for the previous "Resignation of Ministers, and never will "consent to it. If the House think other-"wise, there are constitutional Means open "to them, either by Impeachment for our "Crimes, if we have committed any, or by "addressing the Crown for our Removal."

Mr. Coke's Motion passed by a Majority of Nineteen, in a very crouded House, where four Hundred and twenty-seven Members were present.

Notwithstanding this apparent Triumph of the *Coalition*, their Cause declined in the public Estimation from Day to Day. Neither the powerful Eloquence of Fox, the Sallies of Wit which illuminated every Speech of Lord North, nor the happy Mixture of Humour, Argument, and Satire, which characterized the Efforts of Sheridan in Parliament, could rescue the Party from the Imputation of having made mutual Sacrifices of Principle. During the Debate of the subsequent Evening, the third of February, Sheridan even avowed without Circumlocution, that when Fox first communicated to him, the Proposition of coalescing with his antient Adversary, he advised his Right Honorable Friend by no Means to accede to it; as the insurmountable Prejudices imbibed throughout the Nation, would infallibly produce the Loss of his Popularity, Character, and general Estimation. Sheridan added indeed, that on maturely weighing the Motives of State Necessity by which it was

dictated; when sustained by his Experience of the Honour, Principles, and Steadiness of Lord North; he rejoiced at the Union which had taken Place, even in Contradiction to his own Advice. But, it is evident from this Disclosure of his Sentiments, that he reasoned more dispassionately than Fox; who, seduced by his Ambition, goaded by his Wants, and beholding only the numerical Ascendant which Lord North's Junction would give him, in one, if not in both, Houses of Parliament, imagined that he could coerce the Sovereign, and might either persuade, delude, or despise the People. The Event fully justified Sheridan's Opinion, and manifested the Superiority of his Judgment: since, even though we should admit that Lord Shelburne would inevitably have remained in Power, if Fox had not joined Lord North; yet the former must have occupied the most imposing Situation as a public Man, placed in some Measure at the Head of the Rockingham Party, while maintaining his original Ground of Opposition; and could not probably have been long excluded from a Participation in the Counsels of the Crown, even by Pitt himself.

In vain did Sheridan, with admirable Wit, endeavour to shew that an equal Sacrifice of all political Principle had taken Place on the ministerial Side of the House, as was exhibited among the Members opposite them;—an Assertion which he attempted to illustrate by the Spectacle which the Treasury Bench presented, where the Individuals now seated Side by Side, were beheld recently acting in Hostility towards each other. But, the Union of inferior or subordinate Persons, did not excite Sentiments of equal Repugnance, nor awaken such moral Condemnation, as the *Coalition* of two Principals, the one of whom had, for successive Years, been loaded by the other, with the severest Imputations, and denounced as a just Object of national Vengeance. In vain did Fox accuse the First Minister, "after assassinating the Constitution by Se-"cret Influence, in one House of Parlia-"ment; with having Recourse to Methods "of the basest Corruption, in Order to pro-"cure a Majority in another." As vainly did Rigby reproach Pitt with lavishing Peerages for the same Purpose; while it was notorious that the late Administration was debarred from conferring similar Dignities, and

had not been able to make even a single British Peer. With as little Effect did Marsham read the Resolutions adopted by the Meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, affirming "that any Administration founded "on the total Exclusion of the Members of "the last, or of the present Ministry, would "be inadequate to the public Exigencies;" or did Powis urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to resign, as a necessary Preliminary to all Conciliation. Pitt, though he still professed to desire an Union, "provided it could be effected without a Sacrifice of Principle or of Honour;" yet not only refused previously to retire from Office, but, started many ulterior Impediments to the Accomplishment of the Object itself.

No Symptoms of Approximation between the contending Parties, beyond unmeaning Professions of mutual Disposition to bury in Oblivion past Animosities, took Place: while among their respective Adherents, a Spirit of inveterate Enmity was exhibited. Lord Mulgrave, in one of his Speeches, charged Fox with "trampling the House of Brunswick under Foot," by his "East India "Bill;" and though called to Order by the

late Secretary of State, inveighed against him as "a Plunderer and an Invader." Governor Johnstone said, that "if an Election for *a King* were to take Place in this "Country, Mr. Fox should have his Vote; "so high an Opinion did he entertain of "those transcendant Abilities which the "Right Honorable Gentleman possessed: "but, wishing to preserve the Constitution, "he had negatived a Bill which would have "placed its Author above all Control." "His Talents," added Johnstone, "I admit "to be pre-eminent: so were those of Julius "Cæsar, who undid Rome. Oliver Crom-"well, who made the House of Commons "his Instrument, overturned the Constitu-"tion. Such would have been the Effect of "the East India Bill, if it had passed the "Legislature. Nor is the Continuance of "the present Minister in Office, less neces-"sary in Order to prevent the Renewal of "that Measure, than was his original Ac-"ceptance of Employment, to defeat it in "the first Instance." Wilberforce declared, that "even if that obnoxious Bill had passed "the House of Peers, by as great a Majority "as it did the lower House, yet he should "equally have thanked the Crown for dis-

"missing the late Ministers." Pitt himself, treating with Defiance, as well as with Contempt, Fox's indirect Attempts to force his Resignation, called on his Antagonist to come boldly forward; and either to criminate his Conduct as a Minister, or to move a personal Question for his Removal from Office. Professing his own Purity, both as a Man, and as a public Functionary, he avowed his Indifference for all the Clamour of Party, or the unfounded Imputations brought against the Mode of his attaining Power; and concluded by trusting that the House would do Justice to the Motives, which actuated his present Line of Conduct.

[11th—17th February.] Burke by no means took the same active or conspicuous Part in the Debates that followed the Rejection of the "East India Bill," as he had exhibited while the Measure was on its Progress to the upper House. With the Loss of the Pay Office, he seemed to have lost for a Time, much of his Energy of Mind. Even Lord North scarcely occupied the second Place in these Parliamentary Convulsions, where Sheridan and Erskine, Powis and even Marsham, severally attracted almost as

much Attention, as the late First Minister. His blue Ribband, seen conspicuous among the great Coats, buff Waistcoats, and dirty Boots of his new Allies, involuntarily recalled the Reflection of his having given the Law from the Treasury Bench, during twelve Years, to the same Assembly, in which he now performed so humiliating and inferior a Character. He bore nevertheless, this political Change, under which many Men would have sunk, with that imperturbable Serenity and Equality of Temper, which ever distinguished him through Life. He acquired even the Applauses of every Party, by the manly Promptitude, and cheerful Readiness, which he shewed to sacrifice all personal Objects or Interests, to the public Tranquillity. When Pitt avowed, that however highly he might respect that Nobleman's Abilities, or esteem his private Character, yet they could never sit together in the same Cabinet; Lord North, while he loudly censured the contemptuous Dignity, and unaccommodating Spirit of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; nevertheless declared, that no Considerations relative to himself, should for an Instant impede the Formation of a new Ministry, con-

sonant to the general Wishes of the Country.

"There may be Individuals," observed Pitt, "against whom I entertain no personal "Dislike or Ill-will; whose private Cha- "racter I even respect and revere; whose "Abilities are great;—and yet, with whom "I could never bring myself to sit, or to "act, in the Cabinet." No Reply could be more dignified, yet disinterested, than that of Lord North. "It is impossible for "me to avoid perceiving," said he, "that I "am the Person to whom Allusion is made. "From whatever Quarter, however, such "Expressions may come, and with whatever "Form of Words, they may be cloathed, I "never will quit my Situation, or be driven "from the Ground which I occupy in this "Country, to gratify the Caprice or the "Prejudices of any Man, whatever may be "his Position in the State, or his Opinion of "himself. But, if in the present distracted "Condition of the Country, produced by "the Means which the Chancellor of the "Exchequer has used for obtaining Power, "I find that the national Voice demands my "Retirement; or that public Opinion regards "me as an Obstacle to that extended and

" united Administration, so anxiously re-
" quired, God forbid that I should impede
" the Consummation of such a salutary
" Union! No Love of Power or Emolu-
" ment, no Object of Ambition, shall induce
" me for a single Day to form a Bar to the
" Completion of that great Object." This Declaration elicited the warmest Expressions of Admiration from Marsham and Powis :—Eulogiums the more noticed, as no Individuals in the House, had treated him with greater Acrimony, when First Lord of the Treasury, during the latter Part of the American War. Powis, after panegyrizing Lord North's Virtues, subjoined, " For my own Part, I am not among
" the Number of those Persons, who would
" wish to exclude the noble Lord from any
" Place in a future Administration; but,
" since he has so disinterestedly expressed
" his Readiness to sacrifice his own Pros-
" pects, to the general Tranquillity and Be-
" nefit, the Fault will henceforward lie with
" the Minister, if he should still refuse to
" pay to the House of Commons, the De-
" ference due to a Branch of the Legisla-
" ture."

Lord North was nevertheless unable to

prevent the Borough of Banbury, for which Place he sat in Parliament, and where his Family had always possessed a decisive Influence; from joining in the general Cry against the *Coalition*, and even framing an Address, thanking His Majesty for the recent Dismission from Office, of their actual Representative in the House of Commons. A Delegation from the Inhabitants of Banbury, waited on me in London, bringing with them the Address itself; accompanied by a Request that I would present it to the King, on the first Levee Day, at St. James's. But, on full Consideration, I declined taking such a personal Part against a Nobleman whom I greatly respected, loved, and honoured, though I had withdrawn from the Party with which he had connected himself. Lord North, alluding afterwards, during the Debate which took Place on the 27th of February, to this Address, declared that "he had the Consolation to know, it was not signed by one "of those Individuals, his Constituents, who "returned him to Parliament." It spoke nevertheless, the Sentiments of a large and respectable Portion of the Inhabitants and Householders of the Place.

[18th and 19th February.] No Circumstance could more forcibly demonstrate the little Apprehension felt by Pitt, of the Effects of Parliamentary Indignation; or could prove in a stronger Manner, the Confidence with which his own Popularity inspired him, than his Conduct at this Juncture. Almost immediately after the Extinction of the fallacious Expectations awakened by the St. Alban's Tavern Meeting, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rising in his Place, calmly acquainted the House, that "the King, notwithstanding their Re-"solutions, had not thought proper to dis-"miss his Ministers; and that they had not "resigned." Such a Piece of Information, so delivered, seemed meant to force the *Coalition* on some Measure of Violence. Fox, nevertheless, while he did not affect to conceal his Indignation at the Affront offered to the legislative Body, and at the Defiance conveyed in the Minister's Words; yet knew too well the feeble State of the Machine over which he presided, to press heavily upon its Springs. He reprobated indeed, the Treatment which the House experienced;—a Treatment demanding, he said, exemplary Punishment. But he concluded with only proposing an Adjourn-

ment of eight and forty Hours, in order to give the Minister Time for Reflection. This Motion, so distinguished by involuntary Forbearance, he carried by *twelve;* a very slender Superiority, where above four Hundred Members divided.

Fox, on this Occasion, though he pretended to deprecate any intemperate Step, and only demanded a Respite of one or two Days; exclaiming with Dido, while he accommodated her Complaints to his own Feelings,

"Tempus inane peto; Spatium Requiemque *Furori;*"

yet endeavoured, by a most able and laboured Appeal to the wounded Pride of the House, to inflame their Passions, while he directed their Resentment against the Minister. Powis highly approved and supported the Motion, which, he said, was in itself moderate, forbearing, and the only proper Course adapted to the extraordinary Circumstances of the Country, as it allowed breathing Time, while a Compromise, he hoped, might yet be effectuated. But, there were other independent Members of the House, who held a different Language. Sir William Lemon, one of the

Representatives for the County of Cornwall, declared that he wished not for any Union, on the Principles laid down by Fox. "I "never liked," said he, "any of the *Reso-* "*lutions* adopted by this Assembly, of "which the present Ministers are the Ob- "ject. I consider them as arbitrary, vio- "lent, and personal. The Chancellor of "the Exchequer has already made every "Concession compatible with his private "Honor, and his official Situation. Those "two great component Parts of his present "Existence, must stand or fall together. I "am happy that he has displayed so much "Firmness in so good a Cause, and I trust "he will not stoop to any unbecoming Ne- "gotiation."

Thus sustained from without, as well as from within, Pitt not only displayed the most determined Resolution, but, charged Fox and his Adherents, with systematically withholding the Supplies; thus sacrificing their Country, as he asserted, to private Faction, Enmity, or Ambition. A Distinction was however drawn by the Opposition, between *withholding* the Supplies, and only *postponing* them; which latter Line of Con-

duct, Powis, in moderate Language, and Marsham, with much stronger Asseveration, declared to constitute their sole Intention. The last mentioned Member recriminated with Asperity on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as expecting from him the same servile Submission in registering the ministerial Edicts, which the French Sovereigns exacted in the Assemblies denominated Parliaments. With more Ability, Fox attempted to make a Compromise with the Minister; offering instantly to vote the Supplies, provided that the House might receive Assurances from him, that "His Majesty would comply with the De-"sires of his faithful Commons." But, Pitt, after first declaring the Conviction of "his "personal Honor being inseparably con-"nected with his present official Situation, "and his Determination never to resign, as a "Prelude to Negotiation;"—in other Words, "to leave his Place, and then to treat with "the Opposition, in Order to form Part of a "new Administration;"—peremptorily refused to barter Office for Supply, or to enter into any Stipulation on the Subject. From this Resolution, expressed in laconic, but, energetic Terms, neither Menaces, Blandishments, nor Expostulations, could induce

him to recede: and after a prolonged Debate of two successive Days, Fox, as the Master of the Assembly, finally moved to adjourn the Sitting on the State of the Nation, which was carried without a Division. He still remained all-powerful within those Walls; but, Pitt's Superiority lay without Doors, in every County, Town, and Village.

Already, Addresses crowded in, from London, down to New Sarum; a Borough which, though consisting only of one solitary Farm House, yet, as belonging to Lord Camelford, who had just been elevated to the Peerage, did not omit to offer its Tribute of Loyalty to the Crown, and of Abhorrence for the Measures of the Opposition. Middlesex, Southwark, even Westminster, abandoning Fox, approached the Throne with Congratulations, or with Testimonies of Approbation at the Dismission of the late Ministers. York, a City where the Cavendish Interest had always been predominant, and which Place the late Chancellor of the Exchequer actually represented in Parliament; —Edinburgh, Worcester, Exeter, and many other inferior Towns, followed the Example,

which spread with Rapidity throughout the whole Island. When we reflect on these Facts, we shall probably think that Mr. Pitt, whatever Professions he might either make, himself; or whatever Wishes for "an united and extended Administration," he might judge proper to put into his Royal Master's Mouth, in Reply to the Addresses of the House of Commons; yet could have nourished no serious Intentions of dividing his Power with Fox.

Among the Persons of Rank who acted a conspicuous Part, and manifested more than ordinary Enthusiasm in the Cause of Pitt, at this Time, were two well known Noblemen, Lord Mahon, and Lord Mountmorres. I have already made Mention of the former, whose Eccentricities of Dress, Character, and Deportment, however great they might be, were nevertheless allied to extraordinary Powers of Elocution, as well as Energies of Mind. My Acquaintance with him was slight; but, during many Years I lived in Habits of familiar and frequent Intercourse with Lord Mountmorres. In his Person he was tall, slender, of a dark and adust Complexion; active, and always on his Feet, to

so great a Degree, as to convey an Idea of Ubiquity personified;—for, he seemed to be in many Places at the same Time. Invariably busy, yet never attaining his Object; unsuccessful in Love, in Ambition, in every Pursuit; yet still continuing the Chace. An Orator in Print, but, destitute of Eloquence; and printing Speeches which he had never pronounced. Fluent and plausible in Conversation, though wanting Judgment. Abandoning his hereditary Seat in the Irish House of Peers, where he might have been useful to his Country, he preferred London; borne up by the fallacious Hope of acquiring a Place in the English House of Commons, which he never accomplished. An Enthusiast in Politics, he was not the less an Economist in his Expences; and though ardent in his Views, always keeping his Purse close shut. Perpetually planning Marriages, but never succeeding in them, he finally died without entering into that State. Such was Lord Mountmorres, to whom the Authors of the "Rolliad," have assigned *two* "Probationary "Odes;" while to all the other Individuals selected for Ridicule, among whom I hold my Place, they have only attributed one Production of that Kind. On the Hustings,

whether erected in Covent Garden, in Palace Yard, or in Westminster Hall, both the above mentioned Noblemen were constantly found, as in their proper Element; and Fox had not in the whole Range of the Metropolis, two more determined Enemies. Lord Mahon was however in all Senses the most formidable, pertinacious, and respectable.

As the Tide of popular Indignation rose against the "East India Bill," tumultuary Meetings took Place in many Parts of the Kingdom, where the general Sense of the Inhabitants was collected. Westminster itself, which during the last Years of Lord North's unfortunate Administration, had constituted the Citadel and the Sanctuary of Fox; renouncing its voluntary Allegiance, raised the Standard against him. He vainly maintained, both by himself, and through his Adherents in Parliament, particularly Erskine, that this painful Change originated solely in Delusion or Imposture: as if it required a superior Intelligence, to appreciate the Objects of that Measure; or as if Pitt, like the Magician in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," could transform Beef and Mutton, into the Appearance of

human Flesh. Lord North, alluding to one of these Assemblages of People in Westminster Hall, which had very recently taken Place, and at which Fox was necessarily present;——I think, it happened in the Course of the Debate of the 18th of February;——gave a most picturesque and ludicrous Description of the Scene, as well as of the principal Performers. "Much," observed that facetious Nobleman, "has been "advanced relative to the pretended Popula- "rity of the present Minister. From what "Source does he derive such Nostrums? "Is it from the Meeting, held a few Days "ago, in Westminster Hall? One Descrip- "tion of Citizens there vociferated, *No Coa- "lition!* while others exclaimed, *No back "Stairs Influence!* But, it demanded the "utmost Precision of Ear, to decide which "of the two Clamours predominated. In- "deed, the Noise owed its Origin, as I am "assured, not so much to the Multitude, as "to two noble Lords who were there pre- "sent. The first, (Lord Mahon,) by his "nervous, impassioned Gesticulation, and "sonorous Oratory, is well calculated to "carry away the Prize in such a Contest. "The disinterested Eloquence of the other

" Peer, (Lord Mountmorres,) claims peculiar " Respect. Not influenced by British Pro- " perty, he has magnanimously exposed his " Person in a Voyage to this Island, and " has hazarded the Perils of the Sea. Pro- " fessing himself a Citizen of the World, " an Advocate for the universal Rights of " Mankind, he has abandoned his native " Country. He has even left its Freedom " in Jeopardy, in Order that he may devote " his whole Faculties to the Interests and " Preservation of this Nation. From the " Operation and Influence of such exalted " Characters on the public Mind, we cannot " reason with Safety."

Masterly as this Piece of historic Oratory must be esteemed, and powerful as was its Operation on the Muscles of the Audience, when pronounced; Lord Mahon, two Days afterwards, during the Discussion of the 20th February, retaliated with great Severity, not unaccompanied with Ability, on his political Adversaries. After enumerating the unequivocal Proofs of Unpopularity which Fox received at the Meeting alluded to by Lord North, " Does he," exclaimed Lord Mahon, " interpret Groans into Ap-

"plause, and take Hisses for Approbation? "—There was a Time, when he was heard "like an Oracle! Why? Because the Pub- "lic credulously believed that he was fight- "ing their Battles, as a sincere and honest "Tribune of the People. But, their Eyes "are opened since he has attempted to raise "himself above the free Constitution of his "Country, by aspiring to the Place of a Dic- "tator."—"How was their Zeal expressed? "In pretty intelligible Words. *No Grand "Mogul! No India Tyrant! No Usurper! "No Turncoat! No Catiline!*—If such be "the Popularity to which he aspires, and if "such are the Marks of Approbation of "which he boasts, long may he continue to "receive them!" Even Pitt, in the Course of the same Evening, had Recourse to simi- lar Illustrations of the Decline of Fox's In- fluence over his Constituents, who once idol- ized him. Having stated the Defeat of the *Coalition* at *Reading*, he next adverted to their Discomfiture at *Hackney*, where the Freeholders of Middlesex had been conven- ed. Fixing his Eyes on George Byng, one of the Members for that County, "I see "over against me," observed he, "a most "determined Chieftain, just returned from

" that Field of Warfare; whose Brow, in-
" deed, is no longer, as formerly, adorned
" with the Smiles of Victory. Whether at
" *Westminster* it is a Proof of Triumph, that
" the People would not even hear the Right
" Honorable Gentleman, (Fox,) who once
" could charm the Multitude into mute At-
" tention;—whether *He*, emphatically deno-
" minated *the Man, and the Champion, of the*
" *People*, is now content with the Execra-
" tion of those Multitudes, whom he so long
" held in voluntary Bonds of Attachment
" and Homage;—these are Points on which
" I will not decide: but, sure I am, that if
" Westminster constitutes his only Proof,
" the Voice of the People is no longer with
" him." Fox, though little accustomed to allow such Speeches to remain unnoticed, did not offer any Reply either to Pitt, or to Lord Mahon. We may, however, form some Idea, from the Scenes pourtrayed within the Walls of the House of Commons, how great was the Ferment which then pervaded the Metropolis and the Kingdom.

[February 4th—16th.] The House of Peers, which Assembly, after arresting the Progress of the " East India Bill," as if ex-

hausted by that Effort, had ever since remained silent and supine Spectators of the Contest carrying on between the Crown and the Commons; exhibited some Symptoms of Animation about this Time, by adopting, early in the Month of February, two Propositions of a Nature tending to condemn the Conduct of the lower House, and to strengthen the Hands of the Sovereign. The Earl of Effingham, who during many Years of his Life, had manifested the most decided Hostility to the King's Government; and who, as late as June, 1780, was unjustly accused of personally mixing in the Riots of the Capital; now appeared as the zealous Defender of Prerogative. He was sustained by the Duke of Richmond, whose political Character and Opinions had undergone since 1782, a similar Transformation: while on the other Hand, the Resolutions moved by Lord Effingham, found the warmest Opponents in the Earl of Mansfield, in Lord Stormont, and Lord Loughborough, so long the systematic Champions of Royalty.

Few Debates more animated, as well as acrimonious and personal, have ever taken Place within the Walls of the upper House,

than occurred on this Occasion. While Lord Fitzwilliam drew the most unfavourable Portrait of the young First Lord of the Treasury, whom he described as deficient not only in Experience, and averse to every social Source of Information, but, as devoured by an overweening and insatiable Thirst of Power; the Duke of Richmond panegyrized his Industry, his Abstraction from Dissipation, his Application to public Business, his Frugality of the national Treasure, and Elevation of Mind; the last of which Qualities had been so conspicuously displayed in his recent Renunciation of a lucrative Sinecure Place. Lord Stormont endeavoured to point the general Indignation against him, for his Presumption in continuing to retain his Situation, in Defiance of the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons: while his Predecessors in Office, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord North, and the Earl of Shelburne, had, each in Turn, anticipated, or respectfully obeyed, the first Demonstrations of the Pleasure of that Branch of the Legislature. The Earl of Mansfield, with the political Timidity so characteristic of his whole Life, in every Situation, judicial or parliamentary; deprecated, as the greatest of national Ca-

lamities, any Resolution, which, by interrupting the Harmony subsisting between the two Houses, might lead to a Dissolution. He seemed to contemplate such an Event, if it should take Place, as commensurate with the Destruction of the British Constitution itself; as disbanding the Army, laying up the Navy, suspending the Functions of Government, and throwing the Country into irremediable Confusion. The House, neither deterred nor intimidated by these Denunciations, voted the Resolutions by a large Majority of forty-seven; and followed them immediately with an Address to the Throne, expressive of their Reliance on His Majesty's Wisdom in the Selection of his confidential Servants, as well as by the Assurances of their Support, in the just Exercise of those Prerogatives entrusted to him for the Protection of his People. It was difficult to imagine a Triumph more decisive over the *Coalition*, or a more opportune and important Accession of Strength to the First Minister, struggling against a Majority in the House of Commons. The King received, and replied to the Address, in laconic, but, warm and affectionate Language.

In other Periods of our History, such an Interference, followed by such a Censure, might, and unquestionably would, have called out the Resentment of the Representatives of the People. But, as Fox justly dreaded all Occasions of Rupture, or of Dispute between the two Houses, which might afford the new Ministers a plausible Pretence for the Dissolution of Parliament; he contented himself with dictating and carrying six Counter Resolutions, tending to justify the Line of Conduct that had been adopted by the House of Commons. Lord Beauchamp was selected for the Performance of this Service; and after a Series of Debates which occupied eleven Days, distinguished throughout by the same Asperity as had been exhibited in every preceding Discussion; the Resolutions finally passed without a Division. In the Progress of these gladiatorial Exhibitions of Parliamentary Ability and Dexterity;—for, such they could only be deemed;—Fox, conscious that the Conflict in which he had engaged, wore from Day to Day a more sinister Appearance, and must, however it might be protracted, terminate in his Fall; assumed every Shape, and tried every Means of inducing his Ad-

versary to propose, or to accept, some Principles of Accommodation. At one Time, denouncing the First Lord of the Treasury, Fox held him up to national Execration, as a Conspirator, who aimed at the Life of the House of Commons; which Assembly he at the same Time daily insulted, by appearing among them as a confidential Servant of the Crown, though destitute of their Confidence or Support. Changing altogether his Tone, a few Days afterwards, in soothing Accents, calculated to win their Way into the Heart, he complimented Pitt's Abilities; professed Respect for his political Principles; expressed his Readiness, nay, his Eagerness, to form an Union, provided it was grounded, not on private Interest or Aggrandizement, but, on great public meritorious Motives of Action; apologized for any harsh or unguarded Expressions, which might have occurred in the Warmth of Debate; avowed his Ambition and Love of Glory, as Sentiments which he felt in common with the First Lord of the Treasury; and finished by protesting that he would make every personal Sacrifice at the Shrine of his Country.

In further Corroboration of these concili-

ating Dispositions, Fox took Occasion to declare, that he was ready to accommodate and modify his obnoxious Bill for the Government of India, so as to meet the public Wish, and to acquire the public Confidence. He would abandon the Patronage which it conferred, and would submit every Clause or Regulation of the Measure itself, to the Discussion of Parliament. His noble Friend, Lord North, would prove no Obstacle to Union between the two Parties. There remained only one Stipulation, from which he could never recede; namely, Mr. Pitt's virtual Resignation; as being indispensable in itself, and as an Expiation to the violated Constitution of Great Britain. In Reply to these alternate Menaces and Blandishments, the Minister, on his Part, affected and professed an equal Desire of Union, on Bases of Principle and Honour; disclaimed all personal Views in the Line of Conduct which he had adopted, by his Acceptance of Office; declared that he should ever think he had performed an essential Service to his Country, by defeating a Measure big with Destruction to the Constitution; expressed his Consolation at finding that Fox was disposed to renounce any of its pernicious Features; pro-

tested that he and his Colleagues were all ready to resign their Employments, as soon as a Prospect presented itself of forming an Administration, by which the State might be effectually served; but, took Care to conclude by declaring, that he could neither reconcile it to the Duty which he owed his Sovereign and the People of England, nor to his own Honour, to lay down his Office, before he beheld such a Prospect. It was evident that, amidst these reciprocal Professions and Demonstrations, not the smallest Advance was made on either Side, towards real Approximation.

[20th February.] However decidedly the Sentiments of the Capital and of the Nation, had been already pronounced in Favour of the new Ministers, yet Fox still retained firm Possession of the House of Commons; though he held that Assembly, as he well knew, only by a frail and decaying Tenure. Powis, who, notwithstanding his avowed Disapprobation of the *East India Bill*, and his invincible Repugnance to the *Coalition*, did not the less condemn and oppose the Formation of the new Administration, as wholly subversive of the Dignity and inherent Rights

of the lower House of Parliament; rising in his Place, originated another Effort for compelling the King to dismiss the First Lord of the Treasury. A most animated, long, and acrimonious Debate ensued, terminating in Favour of Opposition, at a very late Hour of the Morning, after two Divisions, both which Fox carried; the first, by a Majority of *twenty;* the last, by *twenty-one.* The Address voted, was ordered to be presented by the whole House. But, this Triumph, however apparently gratifying, might be considered rather as nominal, than real; not extending in Fact beyond the Threshold of the Lobby, and being neither calculated to intimidate the Sovereign, nor to accelerate the First Minister's Resignation.

Lord Nugent, who might with even more Propriety than Welbore Ellis, be denominated the *Nestor* of the House of Commons, at the Period of which I am writing; and who manifested all the Garrulity of Old Age, sustained by a Sort of unblushing Facility of Utterance, which might pass for Eloquence;—took a prominent, and an extraordinary Part in the Discussion. Though closely connected with Earl Temple, to

whom he had married his Daughter, the Heiress of his Fortune; yet he professed ardently to wish a Reconciliation and a Union between the two Rival Statesmen. As an Encouragement to attempt so great a national Object, he stated that he had accomplished, more than thirty Years before, a similar Undertaking, by means of a personal Interview between Lord Granville and Mr. Pelham, which took Place at his own Residence. "These two Candidates "for Power," said Lord Nugent, "came to "the Appointment, disguised. I introduced "them to each other, and then left them "alone. A good Supper, and excellent "Wine, which I had provided, soon banish-"ed mutual Reserve. They spoke freely, "became Friends, and so remained. Thus "was this *Coalition* effected in a single "Night. I am not much acquainted with "the two Gentlemen now sitting opposite "each other; but, if they will meet at my "House, they shall have a delicate Supper, "with the finest Wines. *They may even, if "they please, get gloriously drunk.* And I will "answer for it, over the Bottle, their Punc-"tilios and Distrust will vanish: while Con-"fidence will spring up, where Diffidence

"previously existed." This Proposition, which seemed rather adapted to a private convivial Party, than becoming a legislative Assembly, excited no Remark from any Quarter; and was excused on Account of the Age, sustained by the bold Peculiarities of the noble Person with whom it originated. Pitt and Fox could not have been reconciled, or made to act together, like Mr. Pelham and Lord Granville. The Men, and the Times, were, both, equally different.

I have never witnessed greater oratorical Exertions made by Fox, than on that Evening. In a Speech of prodigious Length, which might be said to try the Patience of the House, he endeavoured to concentrate every Argument, and to exhaust every Topic of Declamation. But, his Antagonist, elevated by the Victories obtained without Doors, in various Towns and Counties; as well as nearer Home, at Hackney, where the Freeholders of Middlesex had been convened; and above all, in Westminster itself, where Fox had just received the most unequivocal Marks of the Disapprobation, or rather Indignation, of his own Constituents; —elated by his Consciousness of these Advantages, Pitt, with far more Brevity, but,

in a higher Tone than he had ever yet assumed, retorted on his Adversary with inconceivable Severity. After exposing to Derision, the Inconsistence of his present Conduct, in becoming the Champion of a small Majority of the House of Commons, instead of constituting the distinguished Organ of the popular Voice, as he once was; and complimenting him on the Dexterity, with which he supported in turn the most opposite political Characters; Pitt justified himself from the Charge of Imposture, in representing to the Nation the pernicious Consequences to the British Constitution, that must have resulted from "the East "India Bill." His Expressions,—I mean, Pitt's,—were dipt in Gall, though arrayed in all the Elegance of Language. "The "Right Honorable Gentleman," observed the Minister, "has this Evening appeared in "a Character entirely new; but, which he "supports, as, indeed, he does all his Parts; "—with wonderful Ability. He is to-night "the Champion of a small Majority of "this House, against the loud and decided "Voice of the People. He has even endea-"voured, in this, his new Character, to "calumniate the English People. *Impos-*"*ture* was the Term used by his learned

" Friend; (Erskine),—for, how should the " People understand the *India Bill?* Do " they know all the Abuses practised on the " Ganges?—Sir, they know, that the Loss, " nay, the Annihilation of India, could not " compensate for the Subversion of the Con- " stitution. They could see that the *Bill* " raised up a new Power, stripping the " Crown of its Prerogative, and the People " of their chartered Rights, in order to ren- " der its Author, a Dictator over both his " Sovereign and his Country."

Then descending to personal Objects, " the " Right Honorable Gentleman," said he, " calls me a mere nominal Minister, the Pup- " pet of Secret Influence. It is because I dis- " dain to become *his* Puppet, by resigning " my Office, that he thus denominates me. " But, his contemptuous Expressions shall " never provoke me to Resignation. My " own Honour and Reputation I never will " resign, to place myself under his Protec- " tion; to accept a Nomination from him, " and thereby to become a poor, powerless, " self-condemned, unprofitable Minister in " his Train:—a Minister, serviceable to him " perhaps, but altogether incapable of serv-

" ing my King, or my Country. If, indeed, " I have, as he asserts, submitted to become " the Puppet and the Minion of the Crown, " why will he condescend to admit me " among his Band?"—" Severe, therefore, as " the Conflict is, my Conscience, my Duty, " my Attachment to the Constitution, main- " tain me in my present arduous Situation. " It arises not from Contempt or Defiance " of the constitutional Resolutions of this " Assembly. Neither a Point of Honour, " nor the Love of Power, impel me to cling " to Office. The Nature of the Time, and " I will add, the Voice of the Country, call " on me to defend this Fortress, and nothing " shall induce me to surrender it." He concluded by levelling the severest Reproaches on Fox, for stopping, or as the Opposition termed it, suspending and postponing the Supplies; thus sacrificing the public Interests, to private Animosity or Ambition. No Reply was made to this eloquent Harangue, which seemed finally to extinguish all the fallacious Hopes, so long nourished by sanguine or credulous Individuals, of beholding an Administration founded on a broad Basis. It became evident, that no Intentions of such a Nature, were seriously cherished or en-

couraged; and it was equally palpable, that one of the two contending Parties must ultimately sink under the Superiority of his Opponent.

[21st—27th February.] Already Fox's Majority, undermined by many Causes, began to exhibit Symptoms of rapid Decay. While some Members abandoned the *Coalition*, in Deference to the public Voice, or in Obedience to the Remonstrances of their immediate Constituents; Others yielded to Suggestions of a personal or interested Nature, and withdrew from a sinking Party, whose approaching Extinction they anticipated. These latter Individuals drew on themselves the bitterest Sarcasms for their Desertion, not only from Fox, but, at different Times, from various Members of the Opposition. The King's Answer to the last Address, drawn up with consummate Skill, gracious in its Language, conciliating in its Professions, declaring how anxiously His Majesty desired to form "a firm, efficient, "extended, and united Administration;" but, lamenting the Inefficiency of his Efforts for that Purpose; denying that it would be advanced or facilitated by the previous Dis-

mission of his Ministers, against whom no Charge or Complaint was preferred; observing that Numbers of his Subjects had expressed their Satisfaction at the late Change in his Councils; and finally declining to vacate the essential Offices of executive Government, till he should see a Prospect of effecting such a Union as his faithful Commons recommended:—this Reply augmented the Embarrassments, while it added to the Dismay, of the *Coalition* Leaders.

On the Question being agitated, of adjourning its Consideration for two or three Days; after a short Debate, Fox found himself indeed still in a Majority, but it consisted only of *seven*, though near three Hundred and fifty Members voted. He made nevertheless, on the first Day of the ensuing Month, when the Royal Answer was read by the Speaker, another desperate Attempt to carry the ministerial Trenches by Storm, and sustained it by his accustomed Display of Eloquence. The Debates themselves had however ceased to excite the same Interest, or to awaken the same Attention, as they had produced in earlier Stages of the Contest. Yet in a very full House, falling little

short of four Hundred, the Opposition maintained their Superiority, and even rose to *twelve*. Another Address was voted; but, though it still besought the Sovereign "to "lay the Foundation of a strong and stable "Government, by the previous Removal of "his present Ministers;" it lamented "the "Failure of his Endeavours for forming an "united Administration; and their Concern, "as well as Disappointment, at his Majesty's "not having been advised to take any further "Steps for effecting the Object." It was impossible more clearly to admit their Inability to dictate to the Crown, and their Desire of dividing with Pitt the Power, of which it had become evidently impracticable wholly to deprive him.

The whole Drift and Object of Fox's Speech were designed to prove, by Reference to the Events of the two preceding Reigns, that both George the First and Second had invariably complied with the expressed Wishes of the House of Commons, in the Choice or Dismission of their Ministers. No Principle of the Constitution could indeed be more clearly recognized, or more indisputable. Pitt himself admitted it. But,

its practical Application in the present Instance, violated common Sense, because neither Cause nor Reason was assigned for compelling the King to dismiss his confidential Servants. "No Man," observed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his Reply to Fox, "can more strongly maintain than myself, the "Right of this House to advise the Sovereign, "in the Exercise of all his Prerogatives. But, "that a Declaration of this House, disap- "proving His Majesty's Ministers, should, "*ipso Facto*, compel him to dismiss them, "or oblige them to resign, I never will "allow."—"Does the History of this Coun- "try afford any Instance of an Administra- "tion called on to retire from Office, without "a Cause?"—Fox's Majority constituted the only Refutation of such Reasoning.

[4th and 5th March.] In his Answer to their Address, the King nearly repeated his preceding Declaration; only subjoining, that "he did not consider the Failure of his "recent Endeavours to form an extended "and united Administration, as constituting "a final Bar to its Accomplishment, if it "could have been obtained on Principles of "Fairness and Equality." But, as though

he had been desirous at the same Time, of extinguishing any such Expectations, he added, "I know of no farther Steps that I "can take, that are likely to remove the "Difficulties which obstruct that desirable "End." Fox, who beheld as in a Mirror, the Sentence of his perpetual Exclusion from Office, conveyed under these Expressions of the Sovereign; after first postponing the Consideration of His Majesty's Reply, for four Days, endeavoured to throw an insurmountable Barrier in the Way of Dissolution, by delaying the Progress of the Mutiny Bill through the House. An animated Debate ensued on the Subject; in which, while the two Leaders took only a comparatively inferior Share, Lord North spoke at considerable Length, and with great Ability. Under the possible Anticipation that the Majority might be able to prevent the Mutiny Bill from passing, Opinions had been hazarded from Persons seated on the Ministerial Benches, that even though that annual Act should be suffered to expire, yet the King might keep the Army together; both the Men, and the Money for their Payment, being already voted. When therefore the Consent of the House of Peers should be

obtained, the Crown, it was asserted, might have an Army on Foot, with the recognized Approbation of Parliament. Sir Adam Ferguson, Member for the County of Ayr in Scotland, a Man of sound Sense, himself bred to the Scotch Bar, where he had attained to Eminence, supported the Proposition.

This Doctrine, which, it must be confessed, was not to be found in "the Bill of "Rights;" and which might, in its Effects, have proved subversive of the British Constitution; received, it is true, no direct Sanction from Pitt: but it did not the less provoke and produce from various Quarters, the severest Animadversion. Lord North observed, that "such a Discovery, if founded "in Law, might well make every Man "tremble for his Liberty. Those who main-"tained it, must however likewise assert, "that the Army might be kept together "without Discipline, and without Punish-"ment; the first being only enforced, and "the latter only inflicted, under the Mutiny "Act." He concluded by reminding Ministers, "that notwithstanding the Money had "been *voted* for the Payment of the Army; "yet, until the Act specifically *appropriating*

" it to that Branch of Service, had passed; " no Power or Right existed in Administra- " tion, to issue any Sum, however small, for " the Purpose.". Finally he warned them, that " as a Prorogation or Dissolution does " away every Vote of Supply, not previously " carried into an Act of Parliament; if " therefore the Minister should have Recourse " to such a Measure, the Votes of Army, " Navy, Ordnance, and Supply of every " Kind, must instantly be destroyed and fall " to the Ground." No Answer was made or attempted from the Treasury Bench, to these Denunciations, which did not indeed admit of any constitutional Reply; and only served to shew the critical, as well as awful Position of the Country, left without an efficient Government, and apparently on the Verge of a Suspension or Extinction of all its Establishments.

Powis and Marsham, who commonly acted in Concert, uniting their Efforts on this Occasion, attacked the Minister in Language of equal Energy and Acrimony. The former, after expressing his Amazement at the King's Answer, and wishing for Time to shed a Tear over the expiring Dignity, and to regu-

late the Funeral Procession of the House of Commons; lamented that Administration appeared to be determined on prosecuting their mad Career, and on elevating Prerogative above Privilege. Marsham reiterated the same Sentiments, while he protested that no Act could be more remote from his Intention, than to delay the public Business, or to plunge the Country into Confusion. Rigby, who had been called on by the Attorney General, only a few Days before, to pay into the Exchequer, the large Balances of public Money remaining in his Hands;—a Demand of which he loudly complained, as harsh and illiberal, though he could not venture directly to oppose or resist it;—came forward once more very conspicuously in the Course of the Debate. With that blunt, bold, dictatorial, and coarse Style of Oratory, which always characterized him; but, of which, since the Extinction of Lord North's Government, he had exhibited comparatively few Specimens; he reprobated the *Audacity* of a Minister who presumed to remain in Office, with a Majority of the House of Commons against him: observing, that it was reserved for the present Days, to produce a Chancellor of the Exchequer, who

said to Parliament, "I care not for your "Majority. The King has appointed me, "and you have nothing to do with the Busi- "ness." He finished by declaring, that his Blood boiled with Indignation, at the bare Mention of retaining an Army without a Mutiny Bill. Pitt did not condescend to notice these personal Sarcasms or Animadversions; which, he well knew, however they might operate within the Walls of the Assembly where they were pronounced, would produce no injurious Consequences to him among the People without Doors. On the Division for adjourning the Committee upon the Mutiny Bill, he was again left in a Minority of *nine*; the Numbers being 171 against 162; Fox still retaining his slender Possession of the House.

[8th March.] But, the Termination of this great Conflict, on which, not only England, but, all Europe had their Eyes fixed, and which had already lasted near eleven Weeks, to the Suspension of every kind of public Business, could not be longer protracted by any Efforts of Eloquence, or any Combinations of Faction. The King, in Terms of gracious, yet firm Determination, had twice

refused to comply with the Demand of a Majority of the lower House; and that Majority was become not less odious to the People, than it had proved itself hostile to the Crown or Administration. So unnatural a State of Things, carried in its Essence, the Seeds of its speedy Extinction. Fox, though apparently Master of the House, found himself unable to advance; and he could not remain stationary, or recede, without exposing his Party to Ridicule, while they were silently undermined, and diminished in Numbers, from Day to Day. His Embarrassments, which did not admit of Concealment, necessarily augmented the Confidence of his ministerial Adversaries. Nor did he attempt to disguise them, when the Consideration of His Majesty's Answer to the last Address, came before the House. In Terms of querulous Indignation, he stigmatized the Reply, as a Compound of Contradiction, Duplicity, Insult, and Violation of the British Constitution. Having attempted to justify and defend the Right of the Commons to demand the Removal of Ministers, without stating their Reasons, or assigning any specific Cause for such Dismission; he avowed that the only becoming

Measure now left, was to move a Resolution, that "whoever should advise his Ma-"jesty to continue his present Administra-"tion, was an Enemy to his Country." But, however disposed and desirous he might be to proceed to this Act, he was restrained by his Consciousness that he could not carry with him even a Majority of the most limited Description, if he made the Attempt. Many of his Adherents had already announced to him their Determination to proceed no further, accompanied with Menaces of withdrawing their Support, if he tried so desperate an Experiment. Thus situated, Fox stopped; and after loading Ministers with the bitterest Reproaches, for having, as he asserted, overset the Country, involved public Credit in remediless Confusion, suffered our foreign Concerns to run to Ruin, and incurred the Guilt of leaving our East Indian Possessions, a Prey to every Species of Enormity, Peculation, and Tyranny; he declared that it was not his Intention to stop the Supplies. While he charged Pitt with inordinate Ambition, as well as with having manifested a decided Aversion to political Union; he finished by only moving, not an Address, but, a *Representation* to the King.

It was long, expostulatory, argumentative, if not criminating; and recapitulated all the Points, on which the Crown and the Commons had so obstinately contended: but it contained no new Matter, except lamenting that "His Majesty's Advisers had not thought "fit to suggest any farther Steps, for re- "moving the Difficulties which impeded the "Formation of an extended Administra- "tion."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer took little or no Part in the Debate which ensued on that Evening. Dundas, however, supplied his Place, with great Acuteness, Energy, and Severity. Retorting on the Opposition, all the Accusations brought forward by them, of pursuing a mad and desperate Career, to the Subversion of the Constitution, whose true Principles they outraged; he endeavoured to shew that Fox's Experience proved the Incapacity of the House of Commons itself, however powerful a Branch of the Legislature it might be, to enforce its own unconstitutional Resolutions. He treated the *Representation*, as a *Manifesto*, calculated to delude the Nation, by disguising the real Intention of Fox; which aimed at elevating the

Speaker's Mace above the Royal Sceptre, and giving virtually to the Representatives of the People, the Right of naming Ministers. Towards the Conclusion of his able Harangue, after vindicating Pitt from the Imputation of opposing a Union of Parties, if it could have been effected on fair and honourable Principles; he alluded with great Force, though guardedly and hypothetically, to the well authenticated Lists of Peerages, Offices, and Emoluments, known to be promised to their Adherents, by the Opposition Leaders, who thus condescended to avail themselves of every Engine of Seduction or Corruption:—Engines, by which it was obvious, the Country might be as completely enslaved, and the Constitution subverted, as by the worst Minion of the most wicked, or arbitrary Monarch! Seldom have I heard Dundas, during the Course of his long and brilliant Parliamentary Career, display more Ability or Eloquence, than on that Evening, which may in Fact be regarded as having terminated the Contest between Pitt and Fox; between the Crown, and a Majority in the House of Commons. "Why will not the Right Ho-"norable Gentleman," observed he, "insert

" in his Manifesto, that *this House claims a* " *Right of putting a Negative on His Ma-* " *jesty's Appointment of Ministers, without* " *assigning any Reason?*—Because he knows " that such a Pretension might alarm the " Country, and then Counter-Declarations " might appear against it."—" But, let me " suppose for a Moment, that instead, as " the Constitution directs, of the Sovereign " naming and protecting Ministers, this As- " sembly should assume both those Privi- " leges; in that Case, a Combination of " Men might pay as servile Court to indivi- " dual Members of Parliament, as ever Mi- " nion did to a despotic Prince. If the " House exercise the Right of Nomination " and of Controul, any abandoned Faction, " commanding a Majority; by Artifice with- " in Doors, and by Corruption without; " by Promises of *Peerages*, *Places*, and " *Emoluments*, may so entrench themselves, " that if they can likewise name themselves " Ministers, the Country may be as com- " pletely subjected, and the Constitution as " totally overturned, as by the most able or " systematic Tyrant."

This Mirror, though only held up as a Fic-

tion or a Hypothesis, reflected most distinctly to every Beholder, the Image of *the Coalition*. Fox made no Reply to Dundas; but, Burke, who, ever since the Rejection of "the East India Bill," as if overcome by his second Dismission from the Pay-Office, had scarcely once risen in the House, or taken his accustomed Share in the Discussions which arose within its Walls; made ample amends on that Night, for his preceding Silence. Though he spoke with great Animation, and with equal Eloquence, yet no Exertions could sustain a declining, as well as unpopular Party, or infuse Vigour into its component Members. Even the Subject of Controversy itself, agitated and exhausted by so many Repetitions, no longer inspired the same Interest; the greatest Ingenuity being scarcely able to suggest any new Ideas, or to strike out any fresh Matter of Argument. Uncommon Anxiety was manifested, and Impatience displayed, for the Division, which took Place about Midnight; when Fox's Majority became reduced to *one* solitary Vote, the Numbers on each Side considerably exceeding those on the Division of the 5th of March. Three Hundred and eighty-five Members were present, of whom 191 divided with Opposition, and 190 with Admi-

nistration. Great Exultation was expressed by the ministerial Side of the House, while corresponding Depression appeared on the opposite Benches, at so decisive a Proof of the approaching Fall of the *Coalition*.

[9th March.] The political Spell which had so long suspended and paralyzed all the Functions of Government, was now dissolved; and on the ensuing Day, the Mutiny Bill, no longer opposed, passed through the Committee. Fox, divested of that Control which he had exercised over the Assembly ever since it met in November, appeared there in Person; but, "shorn of his Beams:" nor can we consider the Discussions which subsequently arose on various Points, as other than mere Conversations, since no Division was ever again attempted by the Opposition, down to the Period of the Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament. Yet, scarcely any Debate which took Place during the interesting Session under our Review, opened more curious Matter of Speculation or of Controversy, than the one that followed Fox's Defeat. Powis and Marsham, who had taken so conspicuous a Part throughout the whole Contest, appeared for the last Time on the Theatre. The former, in a

Speech replete with pointed Animadversions, and conceived with great Powers of Mind, endeavoured, while he justified himself from the Charge of Inconsistency in his Conduct, to throw on Pitt the Accusation of Duplicity or Insincerity, in his pretended Negotiation for forming an extended Administration. He admitted that the House of Commons and the Minister having engaged in a constitutional Contest, the former was conquered; "for though scarcely a Century "had elapsed, since a Vote of the Commons "could bestow a Crown, it could not in "1784, procure the Dismission of a Minis-"ter." Having related, with apparent Exactitude, the leading Points on which had hinged the Attempt to produce an Interview between the Duke of Portland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the first indispensable Step towards a general Union; he hesitated not to declare, that "all the "Concession was on one Side, while the "Minister refused either Explanation, or "the smallest Advance leading to Conciliation." Pitt made, it is true, a prompt, able, and animated Reply to this Imputation; but I will fairly own, that it impressed me as more rhetorical than solid, and carried with it no Conviction; though the Rea-

sons assigned by him for the Rupture of the proposed Conference, if not severely scrutinized, appeared specious and reasonable to the Ear.

I ought here to observe, that though Powis and Marsham seemed to perform equal Parts in this Portion of our History, and might be considered as joint Conductors of the St. Alban's-Tavern Meeting; no Comparison could be made between their respective Talents. Marsham was an ordinary Man, of good Intentions, and plain Sense, without Ornament or Decoration of any Kind. But, Powis possessed a classic and a cultivated Understanding, strong Feelings, a natural, ardent, and winning Command of Words, with much Discrimination of Character. Though in my Opinion, his Reverence for the House of Commons blinded him to such a Point, as to prevent him from perceiving or recognizing how Fox had converted that Assembly into a mere Engine of his Ambition; while Pitt really defended the Constitution against the House; —yet I do not on that Account consider Powis as entitled to less Respect under every Point of View. Some Parts of his Speech on the present Occasion, were of uncommon Beau-

ty, warm Colouring, and great Truth. I allude particularly to his Description of the *Forces* led on by the Minister, whom he divided into three Squadrons, having, each, their appropriate Characteristics. "The "first," (whom I have mentioned already elsewhere,) said Powis, "may be deno- "minated his *Body Guard*, composed of "light, young Troops, who discharge their "little Arrows with no ordinary Dexterity, "against all that refuse Allegiance to their "Leader. The second is his Corps of *royal* "*Volunteers*, the steady Champions of Pre- "rogative, ever ready to attack those who "presume to oppose Privilege against royal "Authority. The last is his Legion of *De-* "*serters*, attached to him by no other Tye "or Principle than Interest; and who hav- "ing deserted to him from that Motive, will "quit him as soon as Fortune and Favour "abandon him. Such, Mr. Speaker, is the "Composition of the Army, which has "vanquished this Assembly, and conquered "the Constitution!" We must candidly admit that Powis was no common Orator; nor ought we to be surprized that such Parliamentary Talents raised him ultimately to the Peerage.

If, however, we admire his Description of the ministerial Forces, which was the Result of Premeditation, and may be regarded only as a Composition pronounced before the House of Commons;—how much more Admiration is excited by Pitt's Reply, made on the Instant, and delivered as soon as Powis sat down! After complimenting him on his versatile Facility of displaying equal Eloquence, on whichever Side he spoke, whether supporting or opposing Administration, Pitt proceeded to comment on Powis's Delineation of the Army ranged under his own Banner. Alluding to the first Corps, "who threw their little Arrows with so much "Dexterity," he observed, "Probably, the "Honorable Gentleman's Armour has not "been Proof against the Darts of these Ar-"chers:—for, those little Weapons, which "he affects to despise, appear to have galled "him very severely. As to the Prerogative "Volunteers, who form the second Band, I "am proud of their Support, because Pre-"rogative forms a Part of the Constitution, "like the House of Commons; and is con-"sequently an Object of my Veneration. "But, why he should denominate the third "Squadron, *Deserters*, I own myself at a

"Loss to comprehend, merely because they "may not think proper to advance through "all the Stages of Faction, into which it "is attempted to precipitate this House." Having thus encouraged his own Troops, he retorted on Powis, and endeavoured to shew that no becoming Testimonies of a sincere Desire to unite with the Duke of Portland, and to form an united Administration, had been omitted by him in his ministerial Capacity, during the Course of the late Negotiations.

Those Persons who best knew the secret Springs of Affairs, at the Period under our Review, have, however, I believe, felt, and some of them, have candidly avowed to me, that the First Minister could not sincerely desire, or even mean, to form a *Coalition* with Fox. Nor, if he had wished it, can we easily conceive on what Basis it could have reposed, that offered a Prospect of Completion, and still less, of Duration. We must suppose that Fox would have at least demanded the Treasury for the Duke of Portland, the foreign Office for himself, and probably, the Admiralty for Lord Keppel. Even though Lord North should have personally withdrawn his own Pretensions, yet,

some of his Connexions would necessarily have been admitted into the Cabinet. Does any Man imagine that Pitt, who had already attained in his own Person, to the Head of the Treasury and of the Exchequer;—an Eminence on which, during seventeen Years he stood firm, and from which he at last may be said to have voluntarily descended; would have retreated into the latter of those two Employments, merely to place the Duke of Portland in the former? His Ambition was not made for such moderate Limits. Still less can any Person conceive that Fox would have consented to Pitt's continuing to occupy his double financial Situation, and have taken Office, as Secretary of State, under him. How then was the Equipoise of Power to have been adjusted on "fair and equal Terms?" The Cabinet must have preponderated in Favour of one, or of the other Candidate for Power. And which of them would have submitted to become the Subordinate? When Lord North struck his Bargain with the Rockingham Party, he consented to act under them a secondary Part; receiving in Compensation, a Share of the ministerial Spoils, and obtaining from them Protection against Impeachment, for the Errors or Calamities of the American War.

The Motives therefore for his Conduct, were obvious, natural, venial, perhaps justifiable in every Sense. Lord North did not demand to be received among his New Allies, "on "fair and equal Terms." He exacted only Indemnity, Oblivion, and a Participation of Offices. But, Pitt must have begun, like Sylla in Antiquity, or like Fairfax in our own History, by laying down his Power, at a Moment too when he had nearly consolidated its Tenure.

Other Motives for avoiding such a Connexion with Fox, would unquestionably suggest themselves to his Mind. The late Secretary of State no longer constituted an Object, either of popular Affection, or of Royal Apprehension. His own Imprudence, Ambition, and rapacious Policy, had precipitated him from his Elevation. Nor could the Minister have formed a Junction with the Colleague of Lord North, the Author in his own Person of the "East India Bill," without perhaps incurring some Degree of political Condemnation, if not of moral Contamination or Censure. Fox, indeed, might and undoubtedly would, have consented to modify that obnoxious Measure, in a Way to

render it harmless to the Constitution. But, Experience of the bitter Fruits produced by the late *Coalition*, held out no Encouragement to Pitt, for concluding a second similar Union. He stood moreover on far higher Ground than his Antagonist; combining at once the Favour of the Sovereign, the Attachment of the People, and the Command of the House of Peers. How is it to be supposed, that he would spontaneously descend from such a Situation, and consent to mingle his future Fortunes in some Measure with a Man, whose Line of public Action he had stigmatized with the severest Epithets; merely to conciliate the Suffrages of the Gentlemen who met at the St. Alban's Tavern? These Reflections may probably induce us to believe, that neither George the Third, nor his Minister, could really intend to replace Fox in any Degree, on the Eminence from which he had fallen; though during the Progress of a Contest, in which he remained, for many successive Weeks, Master of a Majority in the House of Commons, and before Matters were ripe for their Dissolution, Deference towards that Branch of the Legislature, dictated an apparent Compliance with their anxious Wishes.

Pitt, with great Dexterity, in the Course of his Reply to Powis, probably conscious that he could not altogether disprove, however he might deny or repel, the Charge of Insincerity, contrived to bring forward a counter Accusation against him and Marsham. To Both, he indirectly applied the Appellation of "a Spy," as having obtained by a pretended Impartiality, Access to the Secrets of the two contending Parties, while they enjoyed the Privileges and Immunities of Embassadors. They took Fire at the Term, as I doubt not, he intended they should; and after respectively vindicating themselves from so dishonourable an Imputation, Marsham read in his Place, the Letter addressed by the Duke of Portland to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It served fully to prove, that the Chief of the Opposition Party, as anxiously desired to commence a Negotiation with the First Minister, as the latter dexterously eluded and avoided a Conference. Marsham professed his own perfect Conviction of the Fact. So did Powis. "I never acted as a Spy," indignantly exclaimed Marsham; "and I make no Scru-
"ple of declaring my private Opinion, that
"I did not perceive in the Minister, the same

" conciliatory Spirit which was manifested " by the Duke of Portland." Powis entered into much more minute Details on the Subject, embracing the respective Demands or Preliminaries insisted on by both Parties, previous to actual Negotiation. Pitt exacted three Conditions. Lord North's Exclusion from the Cabinet. A Renunciation of the objectionable Parts of the " India Bill;" and an Interview with the Duke of Portland, " on fair and equal Terms." All these Points were promptly *conceded*. The *Coalition*, on their Part, equally demanded three Stipulations. First, Pitt's virtual, though not actual, Resignation. Secondly, that the Duke might receive personally from His Majesty, the Message recommending an Interview. Lastly, that the Meaning of the Word " equal," might be defined or explained. But, all these Points Pitt *refused*. Nor would he listen to any Explanations on the Subject, which might facilitate the Accomplishment of the Object itself. Powis, after specifying every Particular, subjoined, " Thus stood the Balance between the two " Parties. One, ready to make every Con- " cession: the other, none. But, why should " a triumphant Minister make Concessions?"

Fox spoke with his usual Ability, though not in the commanding Tone that had characterized him, when conscious that he could dictate his Pleasure to an obsequious Majority. With more Bitterness than was natural to him, he felicitated his Rival on "having attained to something like a Majo-"rity to support him;" nor did he spare his severest Animadversions on those Individuals, who having hitherto voted with Opposition, had recently changed Sides, and joined the Administration. Fox concluded by pointing out the Delusion of Pitt's Proposition, to treat on "equal Terms," while he rejected the Offer made by the Duke of Portland, that the ministerial Arrangement should be conducted "with Attention to "Principles of Equity and Fairness." There could remain no Doubt in the Mind of any impartial Person, that the Expressions "fair "and equal," were in themselves ambiguous, and understood in different, or opposite Senses, by the two contending Parties. But, these Recriminations, however they might for a Moment agitate the Minds of Men in private Society, no longer impeded the Progress of public Business; the House voting

on the ensuing Evening, the Extraordinaries of the Navy, without a Division.

[11th March—22d.] It became indeed more and more apparent from Day to Day, that Pitt's Machinery being now nearly complete, a Dissolution of Parliament would not be long delayed. Yet, the Opposition still fondly indulged a Hope;—for, it did not amount to a Belief;—that, as no Act of Appropriation had passed, though the Supplies were voted, Ministers would not dare to apply the public Money to specific Purposes, contrary to all Precedent, if not to Law; and in direct Violation of the Prohibitions of the House. Various Attempts were made to sound the Minister on this delicate Point, but, without Effect. Fox took however no personal Part in them; and though he occasionally attended in his Place, I believe he hardly, if ever, spoke on any Subject, during the last eleven or Twelve Days that Parliament continued in Existence. Burke remained equally mute; while Powis and Marsham, engaged in Preparations for an approaching general Election, disappeared altogether from a Scene, where they had recently performed the principal

Characters. The little Degree of Opposition experienced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, arose from the Adherents of Lord North, or was made by that Nobleman himself. Sir Grey Cooper, when the Order of the Day was moved, for going into a Committee of Supply, on the Estimates for the Extraordinaries of the Army; conscious that it offered the last Occasion which would present itself, for protesting against a Dissolution; expatiated with considerable Energy, on the Infraction of the Constitution that would arise from such a Measure. He at the same Time warned the Ministers, that "to issue "Money for the Pay of the Forces, contrary "to a Resolution of the House, declaring "such a Proceeding to be a high Crime and "Misdemeanour, and without any Appro-"priation Act," was not only illegal, but, a Subversion of the very Tenure by which the King held his Crown; a Vote of Parliament. No Answer whatever was returned to these Denunciations, from the Treasury Bench; but, the Supply being voted in the Committee, without any Division taking Place, the House adjourned to the following Day.

[23d March.] As the immediate Dissolu-

tion of Parliament, had now become Matter of universal Notoriety, and Preparations for carrying it into Effect, were already making in the Public Offices; a considerable Attendance was produced in the lower House, by Curiosity to witness its Extinction, rather than by any other Motive. The First Minister appearing in his Place, was assailed from various Quarters, on the Question being put by the Speaker, that "the Report on the "Army Extraordinaries should be read a first "Time." Mr. Eden led the Way, and was followed by Lord North, as well as by General Conway. While each of them avowed that they considered themselves as addressing for the last Time, an Assembly, which they knew was on the Point of being dissolved; they did not remonstrate or menace in less animated Terms, on the Supposition that such a Measure should be actually carried into Execution. Every Argument adduced in the preceding Debate, was reiterated, pressed, and urged with augmented Force of Language. The Chancellor of the Exchequer remaining nevertheless contumeliously silent, the Report was read: but, on a Motion being made for the second Reading, Lord North once more rose; and after some

Expostulations relative to the contemptuous Treatment experienced by the House upon the present Occasion, demanded, "on what "Principle of Law, on what Doctrine re- "specting the Constitution, on what Argu- "ment, or on what Authority, when Parlia- "ment should be dissolved, would Ministers "presume to issue Money for the Subsist- "ence of the Army?"

Pitt had not however advanced so far, to be now deterred from consummating his Triumph, by the impotent Threats of a powerless and exhausted, as well as an unpopular Faction. He cut the Knot, which he was unable to untye; and declining any Discussion of those great constitutional Points which he could not solve, and the Infraction of which, he could not abstractedly justify; confidently trusted his Cause to the universal Sentiment of national Approbation, for covering any Deviation from Parliamentary Usage. Like *Iago*, who in Reply to every Enquiry, answers,

"Ask me no Questions: what you know, you know;"

he briefly observed, that "Gentlemen might "make whatever Speeches they chose, and

" the House might act as it thought proper; " he would not say one Word upon the " Subject." The Report being then read a second Time, the House adjourned, and was summoned on the following Day, to attend the House of Peers; where the King having prorogued the Parliament, after pronouncing a short, but, judicious Speech from the Throne, well calculated for the Emergency, stated it to be a " Duty which he owed to " the Constitution and the Country, under " its actual Circumstances, to recur as spee- " dily as possible, to the Sense of his People, " by convoking a new Parliament." A Dissolution followed within twenty-four Hours; and the *Coalition*, confounded, as well as overwhelmed, amidst the Storm which they had injudiciously excited, disappeared in an Instant, leaving the Fragments of their political Greatness scattered in all Directions.

[25th March.] I have related these Events, as they passed under my own Eyes, with the most rigid Impartiality. And if I have dwelt minutely on the Transactions or Debates that took place in the House of Commons, during the Contest between Fox and Pitt; it must be remembered, that within

the Walls of that Assembly, the History and the very Existence of the Country, were concentred during more than three Months. We would vainly seek them elsewhere. All the Functions of Government stood still: while the Sovereign, the Peers, and the Nation looked on, expecting the Issue of so extraordinary a Conflict, which must necessarily impress a new Character on the opening Year. Never did any King of Great Britain contend for so vast a Stake, since Charles the First! In contemplating the Scene, Mr. Pitt arrests our first Attention.

Nothing in the Annals of this Country, subsequent to the Accession of the House of Brunswic, bore any Analogy to his Position. When we consider that he struggled against a Majority of the House of Commons, conducted by such Talents as those of Fox, from the 19th of December, 1783, up to the 9th of March, 1784; on any Day of which Interval, he might possibly have been impeached; and if we reflect that he vanquished so vast a Combination of Party, without prematurely recurring to a Dissolution, till all his necessary Arrangements of every Kind

were completed, and the whole Nation had declared on his Side; we shall probably admit that, as no such Instance occurs before him, no similar Example will probably ever be again exhibited. If, in Compliance with Lord Temple's Opinion, he had begun by dissolving the Parliament as soon as he was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in December, 1783; when the People at large, and when even the Inhabitants of London, as well as of Westminster, were imperfectly informed on the Nature and Tendency of "the East India "Bill"; it is possible that a very different Result might have been the Consequence.

Fox's Defeat arose from one fundamental Error or Miscalculation, into which he was nevertheless led by the Experience of all Parliamentary Contest; namely, that a Majority of the House of Commons, could compel the Crown to dismiss its Ministers, or could oblige the Ministers themselves to give in their own Resignation. In his Hands, this constitutional Weapon, hitherto irresistible, lost its Edge, and became harmless. He affected to attribute its Failure, to a

Spirit of Delusion, which, as he asserted, and as his Adherents maintained, had incapacitated the British People to distinguish Truth from Error, Imposture from Reality. There is, however, no Sophistry capable of blinding completely a whole Nation, upon Points so level to every Understanding; and if there existed any Delusion in the Estimate formed by the Country, respecting the Nature and Tendency of "the East India Bill," the Delusion still survives at this Day, in all its Force. But, there existed another Delusion into which Fox himself fell, when he erroneously conceived, that a Majority of the lower House, in whatever Manner acquired, and whatever Measures or Objects it might pursue, must necessarily dictate its Pleasure to the Sovereign, to the House of Peers, and to the Public. The two former would, indeed, if unsupported by the Body of the People of England, have been found only Dust in the Balance, when engaged in a Struggle with the genuine Representatives of that People, the real Organs of their Will and Opinion. Charles the First, and James the Second, each, made the Experiment; by which the former lost his Head, and the

latter, his Crown. But, George the Third, neither attempted to exercise oppressive and antiquated, if not illegal, Prerogatives; nor to impose on us a Religion prohibited by Law, and odious to his Subjects. And never did the British Constitution manifest its latent Energies so strongly, as in the very Act of arresting that Assembly, which, calling itself the Representatives of the Nation, became in the Instance before us, the Instruments of the Ambition of a Faction, or rather, of an Individual.

The Steadiness, the Principles, and the Repugnance of the King towards the *Coalition*, operated as powerful secondary Agents; but they were not primary Causes. Fox, attentive only to the three Branches of the Constitution, which he considered as omnipotent, regarded as null the Nation itself. But, when awakened, roused, and informed, the People hurled him in an Instant from his Situation. For, it was not the Dissolution of Parliament, which would have reduced him and his Party to Insignificance, if the public Opinion and Confidence had accompanied him. Of this Truth, a great Example

was exhibited in 1780, when Lord North dissolved the Parliament. The Government was not idle on the Occasion, and a large Sum was believed to have been expended in Endeavours to procure favourable Returns to the new House of Commons. Yet, so unpopular was the Sovereign at that Time, so weak the Administration, and so odious the American War, that the First Minister derived little permanent Strength or Advantage from the Measure. He held out with Difficulty for one Session, and surrendered early in the next, on the 20th of March, 1782. Fox on the contrary remained for several Years, only an illustrious Victim of his inordinate Ambition, seated on the Opposition Bench; till the memorable Malady of his Majesty in 1788, recalled him for a Moment into Day, only to plunge him deservedly anew into greater political Depression.

The Obligations which the King owed to Pitt, for liberating him from the Chains of the *Coalition*, at the Time when they were about to have been rivetted, were certainly of the first Magnitude. No other Subject

in his Dominions, would probably have attempted, but, assuredly no other Individual would have successfully performed, so important and arduous a Service. After witnessing the Formation and Extinction of three Administrations, within the Space of little more than twenty Months, George the Third beheld in Prospect, domestic Tranquillity, personal Freedom, and national Prosperity. Nor were these the only Benefits that resulted to him, from the Events that we have related. All the Errors and Misfortunes of his Reign, seemed to be swallowed up and forgotten in the Grave of the *Coalition*. The Odium of Lord Bute's Ministry, and the Peace of 1763, aggravated by the Prosecution of Wilkes;—the humiliating Negotiation and Compromise relative to the Falkland Islands, which *Junius* had consigned to perpetual Reprobation;—lastly, the Disgraces of the American War, followed by the Loss of an Empire beyond the Atlantic, for which national Defalcation of Power and Territory, the King was regarded by a large Portion of his Subjects, as peculiarly responsible;—the accumulated Evils of three and twenty Years, disappeared at

once, and were obliterated. Only the Virtues of the Sovereign seemed to survive in the Memory of his People. The same Prince, who, in March, 1782, labored under a Load of Prejudice and Unpopularity; was considered in March, 1784, as the Guardian of the Constitution, worthy the warmest Testimonies of Affection, Gratitude, and Respect. They poured in upon him from all Quarters, acknowledging the Blessings of his paternal Government, and approving the recent Interference of his Prerogative, for the Destruction of an unprincipled Faction. Wilkes, who had been among the most ardent Opposers of "the East India "Bill," and among the foremost Supporters of Pitt in Parliament, as Member for Middlesex; re-appeared at St. James's, where he met with the most gracious Reception. A new Order of Events, and a new Æra, seemed to commence from this auspicious Date. In Fact, if we would point out the Period of Time, from the Commencement of this long, as well as eventful Reign, during which the Sovereign and the Country equally enjoyed most Tranquillity, as well as Felicity; we should not hesitate to name the Interval, comprizing about four Years and

a half, that succeeded Pitt's Triumph over Fox, in the Spring of 1784, down to the King's severe Seizure in the Autumn of 1788. Here, therefore, as at a Political Land-mark, I shall conclude the Third Part of the Historical Memoirs of my own Time.

FINIS.

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